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**Moral regulation of ethno-cultural diversity in Russian
education**

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Introduction

Statement of the research problem

Social and cultural diversity, which is rapidly increasing with the growth of social and geographical mobility in the era of globalization, is potentially a challenge to social integration (Angell, 2000; Putnam, 2000; Gijsberts, van der Meer, Dagevos, 2012; Percival, Currin-Percival, 2013; Antonsich, Petrillo, 2018). In response to diversity, instability in the economic, political, and ideological spheres, the processes of reviving traditional forms of social integration based on the homogenization of society are actualized. The public sphere forms a contradictory agenda for achieving unity at the expense of the symbolic exclusion of "others" (Mewes, Mau, 2013; Demintseva, Kashnitsky, 2016), which is directly opposite to the idea of social inclusion declared at different state levels.

Inclusion as a principle of ensuring social well-being for everyone and social value was identified as a political imperative at the World Summit on Social Development in 1995 in Copenhagen (Copenhagen Declaration on Social Development, 1995). Since then, the problems of social inclusion and integration have become the focus of discussions of international scientific associations and experts at the level of public administration and supranational structures (UN, 2015; Leroy, Buengeler, Veestraeten, Hoever, 2021). The Russian Federation has embarked on the formation and implementation of the principles of inclusion, but there is still much to be done on this path: according to the indicators of the Inclusivity Index in 2018, it ranked 113th out of 125 (Inclusiveness Index Measuring Global Inclusion and Marginality, 2018).

Support for cultural diversity, interpreted primarily as the diversity of ethnic cultures, is prescribed in the doctrinal documents of international organizations (UNESCO, 2001) and in the normative acts regulating the Russian national policy (Decree of the President of the Russian Federation, 2018). However, it is obvious that the effectiveness of management in this area is determined not only by the fact of including the problem of ethno-cultural diversity in the public and political agenda, but also by understanding the role of ethno-cultural diversity in the development of modern society and building institutional mechanisms for regulating relevant processes.

The problems of diversity and inclusion manifest themselves in different ways in specific social spheres, depending on institutionalized regulatory regimes (Maussen, Bader, 2012). It is not by chance that education has become one of the most discussed societal institutions focused on inclusion as a value and social norm, the range of functions of which includes the transmission of this norm to society. The normative models laid down by educational institutions, forming a common understanding of collective identity and goals, support a wide range of motives for individual and collective actions, determine the trends of social transformations and the place of pluralism and humanity or conformity and intolerance in them.

In accordance with the Federal Law "On Education in the Russian Federation", which entered into force on 1.09.2013, a child can study at any educational institution of the parents' choice (Federal Law "On Education in the Russian Federation", 2012) and educational institutions are obliged to create an

environment that takes into account the educational needs of different students. Thus, educational inclusion is proclaimed and enshrined at the legislative level. However, since the actual spread of inclusion requires a comprehensive restructuring of the education system, further research is needed to assess the value-oriented and moral guidelines set by the school through the introduction of practical forms of regulation of social and cultural diversity.

The problem of the study is based on the contradiction between the strategic course on inclusivity and the tasks of education to maintain and strengthen social integration, for which cultural and social diversity is a challenge. The following issues become relevant: how cultural diversity is regulated in Russian education at different historical stages (with an emphasis on modernity); what are the conditions for the formation and goals of the regulatory patterns used, what are the consequences of their application; what moral framework does the regulation of diversity in the Russian educational environment fit into?

Since the translation of moral guidelines constitutes the content of education, the provisions broadcast by the curriculum and literature have a moral basis. In this research, the following logic is reconstructed: the current socio-political situation is considered as the context of the implementation of educational policy in relation to diversity, which determines its goals. From the formulation of the goals of the educational policy, normative prescriptions follow, which, in turn, regulate everyday educational practices. In other words, in the research, the moral foundation of approaches to regulating diversity is revealed in different social and political contexts, taking into account the goals and value orientations of the subjects of educational policy. By identifying the limitations and potential of implementing different moral approaches to diversity regulation, we demonstrate the complex nature of normative pedagogical discourses and everyday strategies for regulating diversity in the field of cultural reproduction.

Focus of the research problem

As a subject of sociological and socio-philosophical reflection, diversity is actualized in the context of globalization and the standardization of society, accompanied by multidirectional processes of unification and diversification of human needs (R. Aron, T. Veblen, M. McLuhan, Y. Masuda, E. Levinas, A. Toffler). Since the mid-20th century, diversity has been embedded in the social and philosophical arguments of all notable authors when describing and comprehending the problems of meanings in the sphere of epistemological discourse of identity and difference, norms and deviations, recognition or elimination of otherness (Z. Bauman, P. Berger, E. Goffman, G. Simmel, R. Merton, A. Nassehi, R. Park, A. Schütz). Since the 1980s, approaches to the study of diversity within the framework of critical theories have been actively developing, demonstrating heuristic potential in studies of inequality in education and, as a result, in society as a whole (S. Annamma, D. Connor, M. Beneke).

In public practices, diversity came into focus in the second half of the 20th century. However, today, practices sensitive to diversity are developing, obeying the internal logic of the process, often becoming the subject of academic reflection after

the fact. This is the case with inclusive practices implemented in various fields, primarily in education and employment, urban environment development, sports, museums, etc. Inclusion in the process of education of people with disabilities is already rooted in the socio-political discourse and is reflected in the agenda of Russian and international organizations and political initiatives (Budnyk, Sydoriv, 2019), but its current understanding asserts the unconditional value of social realization of the individual (Sudakova, 2017).

For analytical purposes, educational inclusion can be divided into structural (actual availability of educational services) and relational plans (taking into account diversity in the educational process, team cohesion, development of equal relations of all actors, consideration and respect for individual and family experience of students, etc.) (Rowley, Burnham, Drabe, 2006). Despite the importance of the relational aspects of inclusion, it cannot be denied that they turn out to be fundamentally impracticable without the creation of structural foundations by school that combine such components as the "inclusive design" of the physical environment, the provision of methodological materials that take into account social and cultural diversity, and the appropriate training of teachers. Taking into account the focus on ethno-cultural diversity adopted in this work, we highlight the second and third of these components linking the structural and relational plans.

The study of the curriculum and textbook is a special area of interdisciplinary research focused on the analysis of the content of school subjects recorded in the form of educational standards, lesson programs, textbooks, and various auxiliary materials. The focus is on a textbook, a specially created book that sets a sequential algorithm for mastering knowledge and skills that are selected, accumulated, and distributed in accordance with certain principles (Young, 1988). The program and the textbook can also be understood as a kind of demonstration of the literary (scientific)-didactic canon in education manifested in a set of texts recognized by science, pedagogy and the authorities as exemplary and suitable for use in the educational process. Textbook construction acts as an extremely important cultural practice related to the self-consciousness of society and the modeling of cultural identity, which is influenced by many factors ranging from state policy in education to the accepted attitude towards the child (S. Ehlers, B. Fortna, C. Heinze, C. Kaemmer, E. Matthes, F. O'Dell, J. Rodden, W. Rothemund, V. Stuermer). A special place is occupied by the research on the mechanisms of representation of social and personal values, the discursive analysis of elementary educational texts (C. Kelly, W. Sroka, U. Notarp), and the analysis of the relationship of textbook content with state ideology and politics. In Russia, the study of textbooks is mainly confined to didactic and psychological problems (V. Bezrogov, O. Karpenko, D. Mammadova, I. Ogonovskaya, L. Okolskaya, M. Osorina, D. Ramazanova, E. Romashina, Yu. Shustova and a number of others). And although the attention of researchers in the analysis of the content of the textbook covers aspects of inequality in the representation of ethnicity and gender (V. Shnirelman, O. Karpenko, P. Romanov, E. Iarskaia-Smirnova, L. Shtyleva), but no research has been conducted in the aspect central to the presented study and using the chronological frameworks connecting history and modernity.

One of the basic principles of state policy and legal regulation of relations in the field of education, enshrined in the Federal Law "On Education in the Russian Federation" No. 273-FZ, is the principle of "unity of educational space on the territory of the Russian Federation, protection and development of ethnic and cultural peculiarities and traditions of the peoples of the Russian Federation in a multinational state" (Federal Law "On Education in the Russian Federation", 2012). The same fundamental idea is also presented in other normative documents, in particular, in the National Project "Education", where one of the goals is "the upbringing [...] based on the spiritual and moral values of the peoples of the Russian Federation, historical and national cultural traditions" (<https://edu.gov.ru/national-project/about/>). Such declarations affirm the support for ethno-cultural diversity as a priority for the formation of curricula and the organization of the educational process. Thus, education is considered not only as a mechanism of knowledge transfer, but also as a culture-forming institution of society endowed with the functions of preserving and developing national identity (Egorova, Sibirskina, 2020). In the documents of international organizations, cultural diversity is represented in a moral way ("The protection of cultural diversity is an ethical imperative"), correlating both with the protection of individual rights and with the strengthening of social cohesion (UNESCO, 2001).

This gives us grounds to refer to the concept of social integration in determining the goals and prospects of regulating diversity in the structurally organized processes of cultural reproduction.

Aim and tasks

The aim is to analyze the forms of moral regulation of ethno-cultural diversity in the Russian educational environment.

Tasks:

1. Theoretical construction of a typology of forms of social integration morality focused on social and cultural diversity as a key aspect of their differentiation, based on a critical analysis of classical and modern functionalist, constructivist, and critical approaches. Conceptualization and operationalization of moral guidelines for the regulation of ethno-cultural diversity.
2. Empirical typology of forms of social integration according to the content of moral motives of attitude to diversity.
3. Explication of the value and moral guidelines for regulating diversity based on the analysis of discourses on ethno-cultural diversity in the curriculum and textbooks.
4. Classification of practices of regulation of ethno-cultural diversity in modern Russian schools based on the analysis of subjective meanings embedded by teachers in their implementation.
5. Analysis of compliance of moral regulation of ethno-cultural diversity in the educational space with the guidelines proposed by state policy.
6. Identification of patterns of social inclusion/exclusion within the framework of the dominant pedagogical discourse and organizational practices,

taking into account the contextual conditions of their emergence and existence, and the prospects for their possible transformation.

Theoretical and methodological foundations of the research

Object and subject

The *object* of this research is discursive and organizational practices of regulating ethno-cultural diversity in the Russian school. The *subject* is a moral framework for the regulation of ethno-cultural diversity in the process of cultural reproduction.

Theoretical basis

The presented research is focused on explication and analysis of representation and regulation of ethno-cultural diversity in Russian education at different historical stages with an emphasis on modernity.

The key concept is ethno-cultural diversity, which is defined as the degree to which a society/community can integrate individuals and groups with characteristics different from those that prevail in it, so as to provide them with equal rights and responsibilities (Pyrkosz, 2021). Diversity management can be defined as a policy aimed at the formation and regulation of social relations connected with ethnic, cultural or racial heterogeneity of society (Pain, 2017). "Regulation" is considered as a component of management, assuming more "fine-tuning" in response to the peculiarities of the microcontext caused by ethnocultural diversity in the local framework and interpretations of management goals and strategies of actors directly involved in the educational process.

The idea that moral categories serve as the basis of hierarchical systems has been discussed one way or another by various authors (Steenland, 2010). Charles Tilly examines the phenomenon of "persistent inequality" through the prism of social categorization (Tilly, 1998). Categorical thinking at the social level is a phenomenon that generates, perpetuates, and reproduces inequality, which allows us to consider cultural structures as having their own internal logic and relative autonomy, without denying the need to take into account the influence of actors who control the resources and restraining institutions. Recognition of the prospects of this approach of relative autonomy allows us to present moral categories as, on the one hand, forming and, on the other, reflecting social practices, including practices of social integration and diversity regulation.

Paying attention to the analysis of the problems of social categorization and regulation of ethno-cultural diversity, we consider the ways of verbal representation of cultural diversity and social integration in the curriculum and books, as well as the daily activities of school teachers, including specific techniques aimed at integrating children from families of ethno-cultural minorities and the formation of an inclusive environment in the classroom. Focusing mainly on the study of teachers' perceptions and the normative discourse of the textbook in relation to diversity, this research considers people with migration experience as carriers of cultural and linguistic experience, different from the majority. At the same time, as noted in a number of studies, from the point of view of the school, linguistic and cultural characteristics are more significant indicators of otherness than citizenship

(Alexandrov, Baranova, Ivanyushina, 2012; Bombieri, Galyapina, Bushina, 2019), Therefore, starting from the implicit representations of actors directly involved in the educational process, we do not separate external and internal migrants when speaking about ethno-cultural diversity in school.

To determine the goals and prospects of supporting diversity in the processes of cultural reproduction and its social and cultural effects, we turn to the concept of social integration. In this case, social integration is interpreted as a constructive association of society based on a common understanding of development goals, functional complementarity, social responsibility, and civic activism, guaranteeing equal opportunities for access to socially significant resources and benefits (Gofman, 2015). In this broad sense, social integration affects the synchronic and diachronic dimensions, since the process of knowledge acquisition organized with the help of a textbook acts as a channel of intergenerational cultural transmission and, accordingly, embeds identity into history, conditioning both intra- and intergenerational integration. The study of the evolution of social models and norms based on educational literature makes it possible to reveal the mechanisms of constructing socio-cultural representations embedded in the system of pedagogical influence, as well as institutionalized and emerging forms of social interactions. The school textbook, offering new generations a system of ideas about themselves and others, creates a field of intercultural communication, facilitating or hindering the deployment of integration processes, where the inclusion of socially vulnerable groups, namely representatives of ethno-cultural minorities, is an important component. Proceeding from the fact that the school textbook determines what is worthy of mention and discussion, how it should be perceived, and what should go unnoticed for aesthetic, political and social reasons (Semenova, Korsunskaya, 2010), we turn to the analysis of representations in the textbook of ethnocultural diversity and social inclusion.

The concept of integration is also used in this thesis in a narrow sense as one of the acculturation strategies involving the implementation by minority representatives of attitudes to preserve the original culture and identity, combined with the desire to interact with representatives of other cultures and to become a full part of the new society (Berry, 2006). The implementation of the integration strategy by representatives of minorities corresponds to the ideology and policy of interculturalism (Pain, 2011) on the part of the majority, which not only allows the coexistence of representatives of different cultures in the same political space, but also aims to create conditions that support the integration attitudes of minorities and prevent discrimination, i.e. the social inclusion of people with cultural and linguistic experience different from the majority.

Since social integration can be considered synonymous with sociality as such (Golenkova, Igitkhanyan, 1999), the choice of relevant sociological works is extremely broad. Classical theories (A. de Tocqueville (2008), E. Durkheim (1994, 1996)) and modern empirical research played a key role in determining the theoretical framework. The theoretical framework of this study is formed on the basis of the Model of moral motives (MMM), focused on the division of motivation and self-regulation of behavior into two types, namely achievement (of the success)

versus avoidance (of the failure). The avoidance-based system is mainly sensitive to punishments and negative consequences. On the contrary, the achievement-based behavioral activation system is sensitive to rewards and positive outcomes. Applying these differences to the field of morality makes it possible to draw a line between the forbidding and prescriptive aspects of moral regulation: forbidding morality emphasizes restrictions aimed at avoiding temptations and thus protects against harm, and prescriptive morality allows individuals to overcome inertia and motivates them to commit good deeds.

This model and the corresponding research methodology have been adapted and successfully applied in studies on social identity and intergroup relations (Parker, Janoff-Bulman, 2013), social capital and trust, as well as political views (Janoff-Bulman, Carnes, 2016). Based on these types of self-regulation (achieving success /avoiding failure), the authors of the MMM identified six types of moral motives, respectively correlated with three levels of moral regulation: at the personal level, these are diligence and self-restraint, at the interpersonal level - assistance and non-harm, at the group (collective) - social justice and social order. The differences between moral regulators based on the motivation of achievement or avoidance are not so obvious when it comes to moral self-regulation, where the focus of moral interest is a person, because at this level moral systems are quite compatible – people, as a rule, act on the basis of both forbidding and prescriptive morality: they try to avoid committing crimes, suppress temptations, help others, and lead a moral life. Nevertheless, the harmonious relationship between the two forms of moral regulation seems to break down when the group is analyzed. Here, we are dealing with social regulation, and not only with self-regulation – this is the scope of moral rules and standards applied by a group for a group, where different forms of regulation – prohibiting and prescriptive - act rather as antagonists (Janoff-Bulman, Carnes, 2013). This research focuses on the collective level of moral regulation, where MMM allows us to focus on diversity as a system-forming aspect of moral systems, the role of which is differentiated depending on the dominant goals of the community, i.e. security or development.

Analyzing the social context in which the regulation of ethno-cultural diversity is implemented, we turn to empirical studies of socio-demographic aspects of migration to the Russian Federation (Mukomel, 2021; Abashin, Brednikova, 2021; Demintseva, 2020; Kamalov, Ponarin, 2020), interculturalism as an ideology and policy (Modood, 2017; Kuropyatnik, Kuropyatnik, 2018), as well as the problems of intercultural education (Byram, 2011; Dryden-Peterson, 2020). Intercultural education is defined by the Council of Europe through the prism of "reciprocity" (Council of Europe Ministers of Foreign Affairs, 2008), and is aimed at achieving a developing and sustainable way of living together in multicultural societies by forming and strengthening "understanding, respect and dialogue between different cultural groups" and "critical interaction of students with their own culture, as well as with the culture of others" (Hoff, 2018). The main advantage of this approach lies in the idea that culture and identity are viewed "as being in constant transformation and development" (Portera, 2020), which acts as a principle complementary to the transnational nature of modern migration processes.

Transnationalism shifts the focus of educational policy from adaptation (which is typical for cross-cultural education) and tolerance (for multicultural education) to cooperation. That is why the term "intercultural education" seems to be the most relevant for the analysis of education in the era of globalization and the growth of the world's population mobility. Education research in the era of transnationalism is increasingly using an intersectional approach as an analytical tool to better understand and solve the problems of racism and ableism in preschool education (Beneke, 2017; Love, Beneke, 2021), in schools and universities (Friedman, Hallaran, Locke, 2020; DeMatthews, 2020; Annamma, Handy, 2019), and to develop intercultural training during teacher education (Elder, Migliarini, 2020).

In the conditions of multiculturalism of modern Russian society, education is directly related to the issues of formation of civil and ethno-cultural identity, consolidation of representatives of various groups in the national context, and constructive integration of the population. Accordingly, it is in this area of public life that the morally-based representation of social and cultural diversity forms the framework of intergroup relations and the key foundations of social integration.

The Federal Law "On Education in the Russian Federation" defines education as "a purposeful process that is a socially significant good and carried out in the interests of a person, family, society and the state ..." (Article 2) and highlights "the basic principles of state policy and legal regulation of relations in the field of education" (Article 3). Among them, we emphasize the following – "recognition of the priority of education; ensuring the right of everyone to education, the inadmissibility of discrimination in education; the humanistic nature of education ... the unity of the educational space on the territory of the Russian Federation, the protection and development of ethnic and cultural characteristics and traditions of the peoples of the Russian Federation in a multinational state; the secular nature of education...". Thus, the federal law introduces the management of cultural diversity as one of the priority tasks of education. For children with a cultural experience different from the majority, preserving their native culture and language means maintaining ties with older relatives and opens up the opportunity to gain new experiences that contribute to ethnic identification, psychological well-being, and cultural continuity necessary to ensure the viability of the group as a whole (Galyapina, Lebedeva, 2019). In this case, the mother culture ceases to be a "thing in itself", since individuals competent in several cultures become a kind of intermediaries and facilitators of the dialogue between cultures and social integration. To assess the prospects for the transition of Russian education to the "intercultural rails", it is important to trace its key landmarks and to explicate the moral justifications of discursive and practical forms of regulating diversity in the space of the Russian school.

Methodology and methods of research

The focus of attention is on the key aspect of the socializing mechanism of the school, i.e., the content of educational books, since it is in them that the set of canonical images recommended by the state is presented, as well as ways of interacting with the social and natural world. However, a school is an institution, on

the one hand, reflecting the current state of society. To reconstruct the current social context, let's consider the attitudes of the host population regarding migration and people with migration experience. On the other hand, a school is an institution that models the society of the future within the framework set by the authorities, which requires an analytical look at the documents regulating state policy regarding ethno-cultural diversity. Based on the analysis of the social context reconstructed in this way and the political imperatives of cultural reproduction, we turn to the tool for constructing an "ideal type" of attitude to ethno-cultural diversity - to the content of textbooks.

The research is based on the genetic analysis of the corpus of texts and illustrations, which allows us to trace the transformations of integration patterns in publications of different eras; semiotic analysis of the composition of textbooks and images of a person, communities, and society as a whole and culture; semantic-thematic analysis, which makes it possible to hierarchically distribute textbook materials, determine the sequence and frequency of topics and episodes, and analyze their transformation or preservation.

The source base consists of textbooks for primary and secondary schools in the disciplines of the social science cycle, published in different historical periods, in different socio-political contexts and intended for different audiences. However, believing that the message makes sense only when it is heard, we address the issues of interpretation of the norms broadcast by the textbook and the implementation in everyday pedagogical practices of the principles of regulation of ethno-cultural diversity, using the results of a series of semi-structured interviews with school teachers.

The empirical base of the study and the personal contribution of the author

The interview (N=27) and the survey (N=300) allowed validating the research framework, clarifying and supplementing the theoretical-based typology of moral guidelines and operationalizing the moral aspects of diversity regulation.

Focus groups with representatives of ethnic and cultural minorities of immigrant origin and the host society (N=8, total number of participants 76) allowed for reconstructing attitudes towards diversity and representing the broad social context in which the immediate subject of the study is inscribed. The disclosure of this context is necessary to understand the moral "soil" in which the normative prescriptions transmitted by educational programs and textbooks are supposed to take root.

The following analyses of the content of textbooks for primary and secondary levels of education published in different historical periods have been conducted: in the Russian Empire before 1917 (N=4), for Russian-speaking children in "limitrophic" states (N=9) and in Soviet Russia (N=4) in the 1920s, in the late Soviet (1970-80s) (N=6) and post-Soviet (2000-2020) (N=36) periods for secondary school students. Regulatory documents were also analyzed: the Federal Law "On Education" 2012, the Federal State Educational Standard of Secondary General Education (2014, 2017, 2020), sample work programs on academic subjects, and regulatory documents of the state national policy of the Russian Federation (1996,

2012, 2018). Embedding the analysis into the formed theoretical framework made it possible to reconstruct in synchronic and diachronic dimensions the system of moral prescriptions and instruments for regulating diversity offered by the state as a "canon".

The analysis of the content of textbooks (2019-21, ed., N=4) intended for teaching children from families with migration experience, as well as interviews with teachers of secondary schools (N=26) who have experience teaching in multicultural classes have been conducted. The results obtained at this stage made it possible to demonstrate the complementarity of discourses and practices aimed at different categories of students.

The author carried out the development of the program and theoretical and methodological foundations of research, the creation, and in some cases the selection of existing research tools, the collection and analysis of empirical material, and the preparation of reports and presentation of research results in scientific articles and at scientific conferences.

Academic contribution of research to the development of the subject field

On the basis of combining the positions of classical and modern functionalist, constructivist and critical theories, a typology of forms of group-oriented morality is constructed, focused on social and cultural diversity as a key aspect of the differentiation of the forms under consideration. The operationalization of moral motives for regulating ethno-cultural diversity was carried out, tools for both qualitative and quantitative studies of social integration were developed, the conduct of which made it possible to verify the constructed typology.

The moral grounds of contradictions in the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the discourse of the textbook and in the practices of regulating diversity in the classroom are explicated. The problems of educational inclusion of representatives of ethnic and cultural minorities and the prospects of social integration based on two types of group-oriented morality: the morality of social order and the morality of social justice are demonstrated due to the inconsistency of regulatory prescriptions.

The analysis of discursive and practical forms of cultural diversity management in the Russian school space, taking into account the historical period and depending on the target group for which the textbook is intended, made it possible to demonstrate the rootedness of the choice of diversity management strategies in the system of value orientations and moral norms. Thus, the comparison of the content of textbooks belonging to different epochs of Russian history demonstrates the high stability of the representation of "ethnicity" and "culture" in the primordialist tradition: the "binding" of an ethnic group to the territory and climatic conditions, the attribution of an unchangeable set of properties to cultures, the inviolability of "objective" ethno-cultural boundaries. This testifies to the reproducibility of the cultural pattern of interpretations of ethno-cultural diversity and the rigidity of the forms of its representation, due, in turn, to the immutability of the tasks of the domestic education system aimed at the homogenization of society.

The logical continuation of the essentialization of culture and ethnicity is the "pathologization" of students with cultural experience different from the majority, namely the spread of forms of special education for children from migrant families. Thus, under the auspices of inclusive education, the trend of homogenization of the educational environment, motivated by the morality of the social order, is being strengthened.

Academic novelty of the research

In the process of developing the topic, the theory of moral motives was developed, echoing the ideas of Durkheim about the content and social meaning of solidarities, divided into mechanical based on the homogeneity and dissolution of individual consciousnesses in the collective, and organic, based on the autonomy of individuals and functional interdependence. At the same time, based on the author's empirical research, the chosen theoretical model was clarified by explicating the role of attitudes to social and cultural diversity in building an integral system of moral regulation of behavior. Depending on whether the community is focused on safety or well-being, it builds certain diversity management strategies that determine the criteria of group membership, goals, the permissible measure of group intervention in the private lives of its members, and the permeability of group boundaries and the nature of intergroup interaction. The applicability of the conceptual framework substantiated in this research was demonstrated for solving various analytical tasks, namely identifying qualitative characteristics of the cohesion of local communities, intergroup attitudes of people with migration experience and the host population, as well as the attitude of representatives of the host population to migration processes in the Russian Federation.

The theoretical framework refined in this way is applied to the analysis of discursive and practical forms of diversity regulation in the Russian school. The discourse of educational books representing different periods of Russian education is for the first time considered through the prism of a morally-based attitude to diversity. Based on the analysis of normative documents, educational literature, the discourses of school teachers, and the diversity management techniques used by them, the conclusion is made about the dominance of the pattern of the essentialization of ethnicity in the Soviet period and the reification of culture in modern schools. By replacing ethnicity with culture, education essentially reproduces identical bases of social categorization, opening up the possibility of hierarchization of different groups and defining the framework of inclusion and exclusion. The stability of this categorical framework is considered as a manifestation of the tendency to eliminate diversity in the school classroom and Russian society as a whole, realized through assimilation or segregation of students with cultural and linguistic experience different from the majority. Thus, the gap between the declared inclusive (intercultural) ideology and the actual monoculturality of Russian education is demonstrated.

At the same time, based on the analysis of the discourses embedded in textbooks at each historical stage, the rootedness of strategies for regulating diversity in the system of value orientations, and moral and legal norms is demonstrated. In

particular, it demonstrates how security, presented as the main value guideline of the Strategy of the State Nationalities Policy (2012, 2018), is reflected in the representation of ethnicity and ethno-cultural diversity by textbooks, which makes it possible to reconstruct the moral mechanisms of implementing the policy of managing ethno-cultural diversity.

For the first time in Russian academia, the problems of educational inclusion of children from families with migration experience are considered within the framework of critical theories, which is due to the transformations of special and inclusive education systems that generate internal hotbeds of contradictions in the context of global neoliberal reforms in education through "paternalistic benevolence", leading to the conditional inclusion of subjects presented as "inferior". Based on the analysis of pedagogical practices and teachers' assessments of the goals of educational inclusion, it is demonstrated that "culturalism" represents a unified framework for understanding the needs of children and, thus, is an institutional attempt to assimilate or colonize students with migration experience, pathologizing differences interpreted as "cultural", and demanding their elimination through special educational interventions or segregation of the carriers' "irremediable" differences. Overcoming the pathologizing approach in the educational process would require taking into account not only cultural (value, normative, behavioral), but also socio-economic and political factors of access to education for representatives of different social groups, i.e. attention to the structural characteristics of the educational space.

Points submitted for defence

1. We affirm diversity as a key characteristic of moral guidelines and mechanisms of social integration. Its role is differentiated depending on the dominant goals of the community: security versus development. When considering the role of diversity in determining the value- and morally-based framework of intra-group relations, it was found that diversity is embedded in intra-group ideas about the nature of the group: an essentialist or agentive concept of the group is adopted, which, in turn, frames the identity of the group members. Thus, the essentialist concept presupposes the reliance of identity on markers (biological and/or cultural) assessed as observable and unchangeable. Members of the ingroup attach non-trivial importance to them for maintaining the viability of the group and when comparing their group with others: they are represented as dignity and achievement, the recognition of which is also expected from outgroups. Depending on the attitude to diversity, the mechanisms for maintaining the integrity of the group are also differentiated: the desire to eliminate diversity requires strengthening inter-group boundaries to protect against mixing and to strengthen the group's control over the lifestyle of its members. The acceptance of social and cultural diversity weakens boundaries, and intra-group control focuses on the distribution of benefits in accordance with procedural fairness.

2. When considering the role of diversity in determining the value- and morally-based framework of intergroup relations, it was found that in interaction with outgroups, when diversity is not accepted, segregation and assimilation

strategies are implemented. The explicit mechanisms of their implementation in the educational context determine the organizational and/or discursive removal of sources of diversity from the educational space: the representation of otherness as an essential, respectively, insurmountable and threatening property, discrediting of carriers of cultural norms and practices perceived by representatives of the pedagogical community as "other", homogenization of otherness, and segregated teaching of discursively homogenized categories of "other students". Support for diversity actualizes the integration strategy (on the part of minorities) and the implementation of the policy of inclusion/interculturalism (on the part of the majority). The identified mechanisms of their implementation in the educational context include the actualization of structural and relational aspects. Structural ones include ensuring and supporting the heterogeneity of both the student and the teaching staff, and providing textbooks that represent social and cultural diversity as dynamically developing rather than reifying aspects of sociality. The relational aspects of inclusion involve the actualization of dialogue as a tool for cultivating the child's identity and the product of the educational process.

3. Moral justifications of social integration act as a "transitional link" between the State ethno-cultural policy and forms of regulation of cultural diversity in the educational space. The key provisions of the state policy set the ways of representing cultures and the target guidelines of diversity regulation practices implemented at different levels: the Federal state educational standard – school – school class. However, the evaluation, interpretation, and implementation of these recommended methods by actors directly involved in the educational process, are realized depending on their understanding of the goals of regulating diversity and evaluating the available tools. In the educational space, the predominance of the assimilationist strategy in relation to cultural minorities has been proved. It is based on the moral norms of group closure and homogenization and culturalism as a reification of ethnicity. All these components of the foundation of assimilationism can be traced both in the discourses and practices of school teachers, and the normative models broadcast by textbooks. Like any primordial phenomenon, culture and ethnicity in their reifying interpretation presuppose the obligation and possibility of unambiguous categorization, as well as a hierarchical order in which social categories are organized. The patterns of the essentialization of ethnicity and the reification of culture, focusing on the values of security, become the embodiment of the repressive morality of the social order focused on the homogenization of society. Through their implementation, the subjects of power regulate the scope and type of education offered, using the strategic "maintenance of ignorance" in relation to groups subject to multiple marginalization, determining the scope and type of education available.

4. To maintain cultural diversity and form an inclusive educational environment, the necessity of transforming the representation in the educational discourse of culture as such and focusing on contextualized intersubjective interactions that take into account multiple intersections of identity markers such as social status, age, gender, etc. is substantiated. In this way, the school can become a subject of larger-scale changes, transforming attitudes towards minorities and

practices of everyday interaction between the host population and people with migration experience through the grassroots activity of local communities.

The main findings of the research

First of all, let's present the general logic of the work, combining the publications submitted for protection.

We proceed from the fact that the school educates and thus participates in the regulation of social relations. This axiomatic position is realized in two considerations important for the development of the topic: firstly, the prescriptions transmitted by the school are morally motivated and justified; secondly, these prescriptions, on the one hand, find a response in the implicit representations of members of society, on the other - are partially fixed in legal norms. However, in the context of a potential conflict between the values and targets set by society for education (as in the case of social integration and support for diversity), the analysis of moral motivations and justifications of the points broadcast by the school becomes relevant.

To carry out this analysis, it is necessary to choose or form a conceptual framework that would allow operationalizing an exhaustive range of socially significant dispositions regarding social integration and (ethno)cultural diversity. It is necessary to correlate with this frame

1) implicit ideas of members of society about the role of diversity in social integration,

2) legal prescriptions regarding diversity and integration, regulating cultural reproduction in organized contexts,

3) discursive and practical forms of diversity regulation, directly implemented in school. The first will allow us to reconstruct the social context in which the educational process unfolds: the ideas accepted in society about the essence and meanings of integration and barriers to its path. The combination of the first and the second will make it possible to determine the normative boundaries in which (de)integration and (not)maintenance of diversity interact. The third will be the basis for assessing the potential of the Russian school in the reproduction and/or transformation of social and cultural (non-) equality in Russian society, as an effect of cultural reproduction.

The first of the tasks set - *Theoretical construction of a typology of forms of social integration morality, focused on social and cultural diversity as a key aspect of their differentiation, based on a critical analysis of classical and modern functionalist, constructivist and critical approaches. Conceptualization and operationalization of moral guidelines for the regulation of ethno-cultural diversity* – involves the identification of indicators that allow reconstructing the goals and principles of diversity regulation within the framework of the chosen approach to the conceptualization of systems of moral motivations of certain pedagogical, broader - social, actions.

The consideration of the phenomenon of social integration through moral mechanisms of regulation of social and cultural diversity echoes the ideas of E. Durkheim about the content and social meaning of mechanical and organic

solidarity. According to E. Durkheim, archaic societies with a mechanical type of solidarity are characterized by homogeneity, and interchangeability of individuals-members of society, each of whom embodies, in fact, all the characteristics of the community and is capable of performing a range of functions necessary for existence in this community. This uniformity is due to the dominant role of collective consciousness, absorbing and subordinating individual consciousness. In this cultural context, cohesion is based on self-identification with the community, dominating and formatting, in fact - eclipsing all other identities, collective feelings, unity of shared values. According to Durkheim, the type of organic solidarity characteristic of industrial societies is based on the division of labor, which generates heterogeneity of a larger community, where the interchangeability of members gives way to their complementarity. Collective consciousness does not disappear, but already coexists with individual self-consciousness, identities multiply, hierarchical relations between them differentiate, experiencing the action of many factors of cultural and situational order, loyalty to the group from the individuals within it weakens. However, the already mentioned factor – the division of labor, which assumes that it is impossible to ensure the satisfaction of even basic needs outside of an extensive network of social ties – ensures the preservation of the integrity of the community. Based on the theory of moral motives (Janoff-Bulman, Carnes, 2013) and the integration of the provisions of other influential theories of group-oriented morality (Reynolds, Ceranic, 2007; Janoff-Bulman, Sheikh, Hepp, 2009; Graham, Haidt, Koleva, 2012), a theoretical model is constructed, including parameters and indicators for typologizing forms of integration, which has been tested in a number of qualitative and quantitative studies in contrasting groups (N=300).

The operationalization of the category of social integration made it possible to compile a list of key indicators that allow us to judge the degree and quality of both intra-group cohesion and the integration of the group into the public relations system. A series of empirical studies made it possible to represent diversity as the basis of ideas about the essence of a group, mechanisms for maintaining its integrity, determining the spheres of intra-group control, attitudes towards outgroups, strategies for interaction between a group and society (Table 1).

Table 1. Typology of forms of integration according to the content of moral prescriptions regarding diversity

Parameters	Integration based on the morality of social order	Integration based on the morality of social justice
Basic Motivation	Prohibition/Avoidance	Activation/Achievement
The basis of the group's existence	External: opposition to threats, competition with other groups	Internal: unity of values and goals of the group members
The concept of the group	Essentialist. Purpose: protection of the group	Agentive. Goal: to increase the well-being of the group members
The basis of group integrity	Homogeneity, impermeability of boundaries	Heterogeneity, permeability of boundaries
The basis of group membership	Conformity, loyalty, interchangeability	Value-oriented unity, interdependence

The basis of regulation	Particularistic – interpersonal relations	Universalist – law
Attitude to outgroups	Fear of mixing	Openness
Sphere of moral control	Lifestyle, distributive justice	Distribution of benefits, procedural justice
Strategy of interaction with society	Isolation, adaptation (individual)	Integration

Conceptualization and operationalization of moral guidelines for regulating diversity are presented in the monograph

Kozlova M., Voronina N. Strategies and tactics of cohesion in Russian society: a qualimetric approach. M.: Publishing house "University Book", 2017, 328 p. (In Russian) (Козлова М., Воронина Н. Стратегии и тактики сплоченности в российском обществе: квалиметрический подход. М.: ИД «Университетская книга», 2017, 328 с.);

in the article included in the list of main publications:

Kozlova M., Kozlov A. The origins of morality focused on the individual and the group: socio-psychological and natural-scientific aspects // Psychological Journal. 2016. Vol. 37. No. 3. pp. 60-70. (In Russian) (Козлова М., Козлов А. Истоки морали, ориентированной на индивида и группу: социально-психологический и естественно-научный аспекты // Психологический журнал. 2016. Т. 37. № 3. С. 60-70)

and in the article included in the list of additional publications:

Kozlova M. Moral justifications of the management of (ethno)cultural diversity in the educational space // Journal of Social Policy Research. 2022. Vol. 20. No. 4. pp. 591-606. (In Russian) (Козлова М. Моральные обоснования управления (этно)культурным разнообразием в образовательном пространстве // Журнал исследований социальной политики. 2022. Т. 20. № 4. С. 591-606)

Demonstrating the applicability of the theoretical framework to the analysis of the principles and practices of diversity regulation requires reconstruction of the social context of education, which implies correlation with the presented framework of implicit ideas of members of society about the role of diversity in social integration. Let us analyze the moral aspects of attitudes towards the cultural diversity of representatives of the majority and minorities based on the results of focus groups with migrants from the countries and republics of the Caucasus living in Moscow and representatives of the host population. Four focus groups were conducted in each subsample (two with men, two with women, the participants of two focus groups were aged 17-25 years, two - 25-50 years, the number of participants in each focus group: 8-11 people). The recruitment of participants was carried out in two districts of Moscow (central and remote from the center) randomly.

The study made it possible to determine the motivation underlying the moral assessments of migration by representatives of the host population. The predominance of emotions referred to as "moral" (Rawls, 1995) in the assessments

allows us to turn directly to the analysis of the moral component of ideas about migration and migrants. The "intergroup" context of the analyzed representations suggests that the moral justifications that make up their basis are among the ones regulating the individual's relations to the groups of "our" and "strangers".

Those participants who demonstrated an active emotional rejection of migration to Moscow explain it with concern for their own safety. As a consequence, ingroup favoritism seems to be the basis for ensuring the life and competitiveness of the community. Since the "group" is constructed by the participants as a category based on the criterion of ethnicity or regionality ("blood and/or soil community"), the basis of the discourse is an appeal to the primordial categories, often presented in connection with the concept of "home", which manifests itself as a key component, directly creating the image of a "local", and is reinforced by the use of the concept of "family" ("*They come to my house and behave brazenly, why should I tolerate this*" (FG1), "*A local - this is a person for whom this is home, and we instantly feel each other. We are in the same region, in the same family, we understand each other*" (FG2)), which fixes the transition from public to private space, (re)constructing a hierarchical order: the host is the subject of law-making, the guest must either follow the orders established by the host, or "vacate the premises" ("*Just higher-ranking people... The hosts*" (FG2)).

As a consequence, the "optimization" of intergroup interaction is seen as the elimination of either others or otherness in them: "*I just think that there should be a main process - to sharply erase all differences*" (M., 18-25). This is how the need to establish a social order is emphasized, which is presented by the participants through the following supporting positions:

- the need for homogenization of the population;
- the importance of a common identity (defining and identity markers: language, everyday practices);
- loyalty and conformity towards the ingroup.

These three aspects testify to the high value of security and refer us to the logic of the forbidding group-oriented morality of the social order, whose tasks are to determine who is included and who is not included in the group and to strengthen group boundaries.

Focus groups with migrants demonstrated, firstly, the symmetry of the implicit concepts of integration described above, which is seen as having a primordial basis. The participants were informed that it would be about communities, but the interviewer did not present ethnicity as a criterion for determining the community of "his own" for the interlocutor. However, to the question "Which people do you consider close?" all participants named the ethno-cultural group after the family. The close proximity of the "family" and the "ethnic group" itself indicates that in the minds of the participants, the ethnic community appears rather as a primary, primordial community. Although the respondents named cultural symbols and reproducible practices among the markers of belonging to the group, something elusive, but initially inherent, remained in most cases the main criterion: "*what distinguishes all Ossetians from other people are the eyes*" (M., 18-25).

At the initial stage of adaptation to the conditions of the host society, the support of a homogeneous group, where identity determines the markers of identity – "blood kinship", language, everyday practices, loyalty and conformity towards the group, seem highly significant. The high value of security for the migrant community refers to the concept of limiting morality of the social order, and the poorly permeable intergroup border, thus, serves the task of minimizing external "threats".

However, there is a contradiction in the statements of the participants: on the one hand, ethnicity is seen as a primordial entity, on the other hand, the participants are clearly aware of the instrumental meaning of the association, even rather construct it, and actualize ethnicity as a support tool in a critical situation. It is the awareness of this "instrumental" function of ethnicity that allows an individual to flexibly regulate the degree of inclusion/distance from this community. On the one hand, ethnicity provides a set of markers of group membership that are known and understood by all members of the ethno-cultural community. On the other hand, the differences between representatives of different social strata who consider themselves to belong to the same ethno-cultural community turn out to be so significant that they often surpass the cross-cultural differences in subjective significance. Belonging to one or another social stratum turns out to be a significant factor for determining individual markers of self-identification. In other words, "class" determines the interpretation and evaluation of "ethnicity", the formation of practices for its implementation and demonstration in public space.

If the instrumental nature of ethnic self-identification is not realized by the individual, ethnicity becomes an obstacle to adaptation in new socio-cultural conditions, for example, the cohesion of a group based on an isolated trait - ethnicity - makes it difficult to integrate it into a macro-level society.

The priority of the morality of the social order is realized by people with migration experience through the closure of the group and, symmetrically, by representatives of the host population through an orientation towards strengthening measures aimed at homogenizing the "habitat", at tightening the migration policy of the state. Thus, it is demonstrated, firstly, that moral assessments of ethno-cultural diversity are embedded in implicit ideas about intra-group cohesion and supragroup integration, and secondly, that these assessments correspond to the support of appropriately oriented social policy programs. This allows us to consider moral motivations as the basis for constructing strategies for regulating ethno-cultural diversity.

The results obtained are reflected in the articles:

Kozlova, M. (2016) "The stigma of race": Coping strategies of migrants from the republics of the North Caucasus in Moscow. *Journal of Social Policy Research*, 14(3), 347-362 (in Russian) (Козлова М. «Стигма расы»: стратегии совладания мигрантов из республик Северного Кавказа в Москве // Журнал исследований социальной политики. 2016. Т. 14. № 3. С. 347-362)

Kozlova M.A. "Guests of the capital" in the eyes of Muscovites: the moral justification of migration assessments // *Journal of Sociology and Social Anthropology*. 2015. Vol. XVIII. No. 3(80). pp. 110-122 (in Russian)

(Козлова М.А. «Гости столицы» в глазах москвичей: моральное обоснование оценок миграции // Журнал социологии и социальной антропологии. 2015. Т. XVIII. № 3(80). С. 110-122).

To understand how communities use the work of moral motivations in the construction of guidelines for social integration, forming the content of educational books, it was possible to solve the second task - *Empirical typology of forms of social integration according to the content of moral motives of attitude to diversity*.

Using the example of textbooks for the initial stage of education published for Russian-speaking children in the "limitrophic states" (Latvia and Poland) in the 1920s, one can imagine the differences in moral motivations embedded in the tools of intergenerational cultural transmission implemented in different political contexts. The source base included three ABC books published in Latvia and two published in Poland (50% and 100% of the total).

Representatives of the older generation are almost completely absent in Latvian textbooks, the child is completely independent and is represented as a carrier and source of knowledge, presented as the only unconditional value. The set and hierarchy of terminal values are compiled by the authors at the discretion of the child himself. In the primaries published in Poland, on the contrary, the images of parents appear already on the first pages, acting as a guarantor of the child's well-being in a dangerous and hostile world; a significant place is occupied by the representation of the divine, which is absent in Latvian textbooks; there is an abundance of proverbs that broadcast a wide range of terminal values.

The instrumental nature of these two fundamentally different models of intergenerational cultural transmission is evident when comparing the socio-political conditions in the two countries. In Latvia, Russians enjoyed the rights of cultural autonomy, including its educational aspect, having a legally fixed opportunity to receive education, including higher education, in their native language. In Poland, on the contrary, since 1918, a policy has been pursued aimed at the gradual elimination of Russian-language schools and the forced "Catholicization" of the population. In a friendly environment, Russian-language education in Latvia focuses on openness and maintaining diversity within the community, does not limit the social context of a child's life to a family or community and does not regulate terminal values, thus offering a model of integration based on the morality of social justice. A child who does not need protection is encouraged to independently develop values and guidelines, to test behavioral practices, using the means recommended by the adult community – education. In the much less friendly political context of Poland, Russian-language textbooks are focused on closure (borders are defined by blood ties) and homogenization of the community, regulating terminal values and representing the environment external to the group as hostile, which ensures intra-group cohesion based on the morality of the social order, as a cocoon protecting the group from cultural diffusion and assimilation.

Thus, both systems of moral regulation – the morality of social order and the morality of social justice - are able to maintain the unity of the group. However, they focus on various social issues: the morality of social justice – on the accumulation of public goods and solving issues related to overcoming inequality in access to

economic resources and social benefits, and the morality of social order – on the regulation of lifestyle, control over issues of religious faith and ethnic identity. This implies different attitudes towards cultural and social diversity, which allows us to consider moral guidelines as a "transitional link" between the State Policy in the field of Nationality and Ethnicity (*Gosudarstvennaya nacional'naya politika*) and the practices of regulating cultural diversity in the educational space.

The results obtained are reflected in the following publications:

Kozlova, M. (2018) 'Schoolbook as an instrument of in-group cohesion and social integration: various strategies of intergenerational cultural transmission in the Latvian and the Polish primers and textbooks of Russian emigration in 1920s', *History of Education and Children's Literature*, XIII(2), pp. 31-47.

Kozlova, M. (2020) 'Integration Patterns in Host Societies Analysed on the Basis of Alphabet Book Content for Russian Schools in Limitrophe States in the First Third of the Twentieth Century', *History of Education*, 49(5), pp. 707-724.

Kozlova, M. (2019) 'Intergenerational transmission of group cohesion patterns in different socio-cultural contexts: on the example of letter books for children of Russian emigration and Soviet Russia', *The World of Russia: Sociology, ethnology*, 28(1), pp. 124-139 (In Russian) (Козлова М. Межпоколенная трансмиссия паттернов группового сплочения в разных социокультурных контекстах: на примере букварей для детей русской эмиграции и Советской России // Мир России: Социология, этнология. 2019. Т. 28. № 1. С. 124-139).

The considered example demonstrates the relevance to the research objectives of the chosen framework and the explicit criteria that allow us to judge the attitudes towards diversity and the tools of its moral regulation involved in school textbooks and everyday practices.

Task 3: Explication of the value and moral guidelines for regulating diversity based on the analysis of discourses on ethno-cultural diversity in the curriculum and the textbook

Let us consider how an educational book intended for teaching children-representatives of the ethno-cultural majority, represents the essence and goals of social integration and constructs the boundaries of the community.

The source base was made up of textbooks for elementary ("The Surrounding World") and secondary schools ("Social Studies"). The educational literature published before 2014 is represented by the products of two publishing houses: Ventana-Graf and Prosveshenie (collectively - 63% of the general population). The literature published after 2014 is represented by the products of "Prosveshenie", which has become the undisputed leader in the publication of educational literature (Prosveshchenie. Official website). Three sets of textbooks published in 2003-14 and two after 2014 were analyzed. ("The surrounding world" 1-4 gr., "Social Studies" 5-11 gr.).

It should be noted that textbooks compensate for the conceptual deficit noted by experts in the content of state regulatory documents (Androsov, 2020) by offering definitions of "people" in the meaning of "ethnicity": "The people to which you belong are also a part of society <...> Each ethnicity has its own language, its own national costumes, its own fairy tales, songs, dances; representatives of many ethnic

groups differ in skin color and facial features" (Pleshakov, 2005).

Such definitions, corresponding to the primordialist definition of an ethnos (Bromley, 2008), indicate the certainty of an individual's ethnicity and the need for ethnic identification in accordance with the criteria of language, folklore, racial-anthropological characteristics, mental composition, which are also considered as criteria for the expected homogeneity of the community, which refers us to the key postulates of morality of the social order. The textbook presents modern Russians as direct descendants of the ancient Slavs, coming to the assertion of the homogeneity of the nation, which is thought of as a politically mature form of ethnos.

In textbooks published recently, the representation of ethnic and cultural minorities is corrected, revealing attempts to move away from primordialism. The textbook for the 8th grade includes a quote from the work of V. Tishkov (Bogolyubov, 2019), where the constructivist interpretation of ethnicity and the breeding of ethnic and civic identities derived from it is found in the textbook for the first and – so far – the only time. This seems to be a noticeable, but probably insufficient, step towards overcoming the pattern of differentialist racism (Balibar, Wallerstein, 2004) formed by all other educational content, which, declaring "noble" goals (preserving the diversity of traditional cultures, state security), strengthens intergroup borders and, thus, offers two strategies of intergroup interaction – segregation and assimilation, both of which focus on the elimination of diversity. In accordance with the logic of assimilationism, the proposed system of moral regulation fixes as an imperative the "golden rule of morality", which is found in every textbook from 5th to 11th grade, persistently propagandizing the norm, monocultural in essence.

The effects of such a representation of culture and ethnicity can be traced at all levels of diversity regulation: from the classroom to society as a whole. If culture appears to be an objective phenomenon that directly determines the perception and behavior of an individual, and ethnic groups are seen as separate entities, "culture" becomes a marker of the opposition of "us" and "them" (Breidenbach, Nyíri, 2009), which means it is a convenient tool for manipulation, giving meanings to this opposition and providing simple explanations of individual and collective behavior (Piller, 2011). This objectification of cultural characteristics inevitably leads to the formation of groups in a certain hierarchy, while "non-dominant" groups find themselves in a state of fear of assimilation by dominant groups - subjects and creators of history. Fear generates the need to defend oneself through defending uniqueness, which encourages minorities to adopt the essentialist view of ethnicity that is imposed by the elites (Shnirelman, 2013). As a result, both representatives of the dominant groups and representatives of the "minorities" are convinced of the objectivity, hence of the unavoidability, of the differences between them and of the justice of the established hierarchical order. Thus, the objectification of cultural characteristics creates the ground in Russian textbooks for the assertion of discriminatory discourses and practices.

Examples of such discriminatory practices are found in textbooks designed to teach children from families with migration experience, for whom Russian is a non-native or second (third) language.

In particular, textbooks on the subject "Literary reading for children of migrants and displaced persons" (Prosveshenie, 2018-19) recognize cross-cultural differences in the field of folklore and everyday culture. At the same time, in the value dimension, the textbook reveals a tendency to homogenization, leaving only the representation of the culture of the host society by the 4th grade, bringing other cultures from the sphere of obligatory patterns of perception and behavior into the area of private, which has no general significance.

If we focus on the "ABC for children of migrants and displaced persons" – as the first educational book that falls into the hands of a student, it can be noted that children in all contexts are represented as equal subjects. However, the representation of adults with migration experience is fundamentally different from the representation of children: adults are excluded from communication with the host population, and the areas of their professional activity include only low-skilled service work, while all professions involving qualifications and the implementation of power functions are given to representatives of the host population.

The idea laid down by the authors of textbooks demonstrates the conscious construction of discriminating conditions. The head of the author's team highlights the concept of a "secondary linguistic personality" as a key theoretical and methodological basis for creating a line of textbooks for migrant children (<https://prosv.ru/articles/show/13.html>). The interpretation of this concept laid down in the literature refers to the primordial concepts of "basic personality" and "national character", which, like any primordial phenomenon, presuppose the obligation and possibility of unambiguous categorization, as well as the hierarchical order in which social categories are organized (Shnirelman, 2013). If the pedagogical (power) community puts tools for the formation of "mentality" and "national character" into the hidden curriculum, it becomes clear why adults – the conductors of the culture of exodus - are either excluded from the life space represented in the textbook, or are marginalized, i.e. are excluded symbolically.

The results obtained are presented in the articles:

Kozlova, M., Ryabichenko, T. (2021) 'Ideologies of Intergroup Relations in Pedagogical Discourse: Representation of Cultures and Intercultural Interaction in the Educational Books for Migrant Children', *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research*, 50(6), pp. 541-555.

Kozlova, M., Ryabichenko, T. (2023) 'Multicultural ideology in hidden curriculum of schoolbooks for migrant children', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 75(2), 271-289.

Task 4: Classification of practices of regulation of ethno-cultural diversity in modern Russian schools based on the analysis of subjective meanings put by teachers in their implementation

Believing that the message makes sense only by reaching the addressee, we turn to the consideration of representations and practices of regulating diversity by school teachers who broadcast their own interpretations of regulatory prescriptions to the direct addressee. We focus on finding answers to the questions:

a) How do teachers assess the tasks of regulating ethno-cultural diversity in school?

b) What everyday methods of regulating ethno-cultural diversity do teachers use?

In the course of the study, 26 interviews were conducted with teachers of schools in Moscow and the Moscow Region, as the most attractive region for migrants (Deminceva, Zelenova, Kosmidis, Oparin, 2017). The recruitment of informants was carried out with the help of targeted emails to teachers who were invited to participate in the study of adaptation to learning conditions of students from families with migration experience. Interviews were collected until subsequent interviews provided little new information (Kvale, 1996). In accordance with this principle, invitations to participate in the interview were sent out sequentially. All informants rated their experience of teaching students with migration experience as large, regular and significant (if the teacher rated this experience as insignificant and episodic, these interviews were not considered). We considered this criterion sufficient, since we were faced with the task of analyzing the subjective experience and everyday practices used by teachers. All participants agreed to make an audio recording and use the interview data for research purposes. Transcripts of the interview were provided to the informants. The informants were guaranteed anonymity (non-disclosure of their names, numbers/names of the school and the city district where the school is located). Interviews were conducted in person. The duration of the interview varied from 30 to 80 minutes.

Our informants assessed migrant children's academic performance in general as lower in comparison with performance of children of receiving society representatives: *"achievements are not too good, frankly speaking"* (f., teacher of history and social studies, comprehensive school). The teachers explained the absence of academic achievements by a number of objective factors, for example, difference of educational programs in general and programmes on certain subjects in exodus countries and in the Russian Federation, insufficient Russian language skills. However, in order to understand teachers' attitudes, it is interesting to review teachers' explanations of migrant children performance by the factors that are based on subjective assessment of cultural and psychological features of students and members of their families. Specifically, low academic motivation of migrant children is interpreted by teachers as a result of cultural features: *"They are proud to be Azerbaijanis and very often they say that I didn't do it because I went to my native country for a weekend or for holidays, and we didn't speak Russian there, I didn't have time. You know, in other words, keeping their self-esteem, which is, in my opinion, is a sign of lack of culture and reluctance to acquire the language that surrounds them and with which they will have to deal during their life in Russia"* (f., teacher of Russian language and literature).

Our informants tend to interpret cultural features with a disposition to ethnicity essentialisation: *"migration flow isn't controlled and people who are not aware of their own actions come very often. That is to say, they use in Russia ways of communication or behaviour that were natural for them in their environment. It very often contradicts the national traditions. When a person is uneducated, doesn't know how to behave properly in an unfamiliar cultural environment, it's not right. It's risky for a Russian"* (f., teacher of Russian language and literature). In the above-

mentioned statement orientation of migrants to exodus culture is interpreted as something similar to mental disorder (*people who are not aware of their own actions come very often. That is to say, they use in Russia ways of communication or behavior that were natural for them in their environment*), therefore, as a hardly surmountable issue that not only reduces migrants' chances to achieve success in receiving society, but also makes them dangerous for this receiving society (*"risky for a Russian"*).

Attribution of a fixed and unchangeable set of properties to culture and characterisation of entities with different properties as "unjoinable" is revealed through the evaluation of other cultures using the criteria of one's own culture, which in some cases is displayed as overt ethnocentrism: *"Only if they respect my culture and my traditions, they have a right to reside in my country"* (f., teacher of Russian language and literature) and xenophobia: *"I think that this (migration) flow should be a little bit stopped <...> There was a migrant hostel not far from our summer cottage. And there were these huge buses that drove them away in the morning and drove back in the evening, and when there are crowds of noisy, hot-tempered, not understanding anything in our language, shouting, talking, it was scary to pass through such crowds"* (f., elementary school teacher). The above statement shows a pronounced perceived threat the source of which is essentially obscurity of migrants' language and behaviour.

The established interpretation of the reasons of migrant children's academic failures/achievements in teachers' everyday experience suggests that ethnocultural aspects are viewed as obstacles to receiving an education, while the cases of academic (of children) and professional/career (of their parents) achievements are explained by "liberation" of an individual from the influence of exodus culture (*"Many of them <migrant children > are far from stupid and even gifted and quite gifted <...>. I don't think that in this case nationality is of great importance. These are ordinary human factors, after all"* (m., history teacher)). Thus, education as a "perfect type" is viewed by pedagogues as a "free of culture" acquiring of knowledge. But with a caveat that all of this doesn't refer to Russian culture. A child should "break free" of non-Russian culture, while acquisition of Russian culture, on the contrary, is viewed as a reliable basis for success.

The indicated interpretations reproduce the logic of differentialism, which, while often declaring "noble" objectives (preservation of diversity of traditional culture, national security, in our case, best interests of the child), strengthens intergroup boundaries and, consequently, ideologically excludes the possibility of inclusion as such in educational space and polyculturalism in different contexts of intergroup interaction. Thus, teacher informants of comprehensive schools reproduce dominant in a public space differentialist discourse emotional and evaluative aspects of which are worsened by everyday difficulties of professional activity implementation, pressure of educational program requirements, school administration that demands growth of performance indicators, etc.

The following organizational forms and everyday practices of educational integration and social adaptation of children with migration experience have been identified:

A) Teachers make sporadic attempts to integrate culture-sensitive elements into the learning process. This allows students whose cultural experience differs from the majority to declare it, and representatives of the majority to hear the voice of the others. At the same time, teachers try to involve families (parents) in this dialogue, thus solving a number of didactic and educational tasks. The Russian program of primary general education provides opportunities for this within the framework of the discipline "The Surrounding world". In secondary school, the corresponding opportunities are sharply narrowed, but there remains a kind of loophole within which teachers, on their own initiative, can implement elements of educational and developmental activities that are sensitive to culture, and encourage students with different cultural experiences to interact. This loophole turns out to be so called "project activity" (Order of the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation No. 287, 2021), included in the educational standard as meaningfully unregulated group extracurricular work of students.

B) Extracurricular work carried out by teachers includes events celebrating the values of different cultures, sports competitions and creative contests aimed at solving the same tasks as the elements of culture-sensitive education included in the curriculum, but provides broader opportunities for establishing cooperation with families and local communities.

C) Informants note the limited possibilities of an individual approach to students for whom the language of teaching is not their native language. The restrictions are due to the high occupancy of classes (30+ people), the rigidity of the requirements of the school curriculum and the Unified State Exam, the pressure of the school administration demanding high educational results, and the lack of additional funding. Thus, the Russian school system, focused on "equal standards of academic performance", excludes or complicates the implementation of an individual approach.

D) Additional individual and group classes, according to teachers from both countries, require the involvement of a cultural intermediary - a teacher with knowledge of the organisation of intercultural communication and the main native languages of migrant students. . In Russian schools, there is a hypothetical opportunity to attract such specialists: schools receive additional funding, which can also be used to organise such additional classes, but the determination of the actual directions of spending these funds is left to the discretion of the school administration. According to Russian teachers, the probability of organising such additional classes is determined by the personal interest of the school principal or the multiculturalism of the teaching staff itself (which is also related to the position of the principal in relation to cultural diversity). So, this situation has the form of a lottery for foreign students in Russian schools, since these educational services are not institutionalised, but are determined by unpredictable factors.

E) Some forms of schooling propose the possibility of separating the immigrant student from their peers. In Russia it is possible to find some schools that offer a segregated education for children who have any academic difficulties, including connecting with language - "compensatory learning classes". The decision to place a foreign-speaking child in a class of "compensatory learning" is made by

the psychological and pedagogical Council of the school (Order of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation No. 1082, 2013), which, according to the regulations, includes teachers, a psychologist, a speech pathologist, a social worker and a representative of the school administration. The composition of the Council does not include specialists in intercultural education. The decision of the Council determines the forms of further education of children, including education in segregated classes, which is recommended if five or more children in the class do not speak Russian well enough, according to the Council (Methodological recommendations, 2021).

This demonstrates the tendency to segregate children with migration experience based on the tendency supported by teachers to link ableism and racism (Connor, Ferri, Annamma, 2015).

The presented typology demonstrates the fusion of substantive and formal grounds. The teacher's choice of one or another organizational form of work in the direction of integrating children with migration experience demonstrates an internal or externally imposed attitude towards social and cultural diversity in the classroom. The available options are located in a wide continuum, where, on the one hand, the integration of the cultural and social experience of students into the general educational space, on the other hand, segregation and the formation of culturally and socially homogeneous educational spaces.

The results obtained are presented in the article:

Mikheev, I., Kozlova, M. Diversity management in the era of transnationalism: prospects and limitations in the educational space. Case study // Journal of Social Policy Research. 2020. Vol. 18(4), pp. 657-672 (in Russian) (Михеев И., Козлова М. Управление многообразием в эпоху транснационализма: перспективы и ограничения в образовательном пространстве. Кейс-стади // Журнал исследований социальной политики. 2020. 18(4). С. 657-672).

Kozlova M. Moral justifications of the management of (ethno)cultural diversity in the educational space // Journal of Social Policy Research. 2022. Vol. 20. No. 4. pp. 591-606 (in Russian) (Козлова М. Моральные обоснования управления (этно)культурным разнообразием в образовательном пространстве // Журнал исследований социальной политики. 2022. Т. 20. № 4. С. 591-606).

Task 5. Analysis of compliance of moral regulation of ethno-cultural diversity in the educational space with the guidelines proposed by state policy.

Let us compare the models of representation of ethno-cultural diversity offered to schoolchildren with the moral motives of the diversity management policy.

From the late 1990s to 2012 the fundamental document in the field of national policy was the Concept of the State Policy in the field of Nationality and Ethnicity (*Gosudarstvennaya nacional'naya politika*, at subsequent mentions - GNP) of the Russian Federation (Decree of the President of the Russian Federation, 1996), which simultaneously asserts the right of peoples to sovereignty and the need for integration of Russian society. However, in a subsequent document – the Strategy

of the GNP adopted in 2012, one of the vectors laid down in the Concept is significantly strengthened, and the strengthening of the all-Russian civic consciousness and spiritual community of the multinational people of the Russian Federation is recognized as the key goal of the GNP (Decree of the President of the Russian Federation, 2012). At the same time, a number of fundamentally important concepts remain unclear: "national", "interethnic relations", "civil and interethnic peace", "ethnic and cultural diversity of the peoples of Russia", "national and cultural development" (Decree of the President of the Russian Federation, 2012). The main focus of the Strategy is on interethnic relations, and ethno-cultural diversity in many cases remains just a background. Also, the Strategy does not talk about the state of ethno-cultural development, only about the creation of state and municipal systems for monitoring the state of interethnic relations and early warning of conflict situations.

In the new edition of the Strategy (Decree of the President of the Russian Federation, 2018), attention is completely shifted to the challenges and threats in the field of SNP: international terrorism and extremism, illegal migration, the formation of closed ethnic enclaves, the uncertainty of the consequences of interethnic or ethno-territorial conflicts. Thus, the transformations over two decades of regulatory documents indicate that the SNP of the Russian Federation has become more systematic and focused primarily on ensuring the security and territorial integrity of the country. The fact that security orientation is supported by different social groups (Lebedeva, 2001; Magun, Rudnev, 2010; Lopatina, Kostenko, Panarin, 2019) ensures the adoption of appropriate legal and implicit moral norms.

Enshrined on 09.11.2022 by the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation "Fundamentals of state policy for the preservation and strengthening of traditional Russian spiritual and moral values" (Decree of the President of the Russian Federation No. 809, 2022), which, as noted in paragraph 3 of the "General Provisions", specify, among other things, the provisions of the GNP of the Russian Federation, affirm the value of security and "strengthening the protection of Russian society from threats and risks to traditional values" as a key political and moral guideline for the reform of education, science, culture, the media and other institutions.

The studies presented earlier demonstrate how the value of security, which has become the benchmark of the GNP of the Russian Federation, is reflected in the representation of ethnicity and ethno-cultural diversity by textbooks, and allow us to reconstruct the moral mechanisms of implementing the policy of managing ethno-cultural diversity. The concepts used in the educational literature and their value content turn into "learning modules" – blocks from which a student's worldview system is built, allowing children to almost automatically recognize examples of virtues and vices and, accordingly, support or reject certain practices or social policy measures.

Education not only establishes a social hierarchy and strengthens the relations of domination, but also offers a moral justification for the formed social order, regulating relations to "our own" and "strangers". In accordance with the division of systems of moral motives accepted as a framework, the essentialist approach

corresponds to a system focused on social order and bringing the value of security to its banners. Attitudes in the interpretation of the "ethnic", supported by the repressive morality of the social order, flow into the emerging picture of the world, where borders are marked, differences are insurmountable, the hierarchical order is unshakable. This unites a group of "friends" in the name of opposing "strangers". Thus, the representation of culture as an objectified phenomenon, and ethnic communities as separate entities, inevitably leads to an increase in xenophobia and support for welfare chauvinism. The morality of social order thus implements an assimilationist or segregationist strategy in relation to ethno-cultural minorities, the morality of social justice, recognizes the importance of a generalizing category, but supports diversity ("interculturalism").

The results obtained are presented in the articles:

Kozlova M., Ryabichenko T. (2023) 'Multicultural ideology in hidden curriculum of schoolbooks for migrant children', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 75(2), 271-289.

Kozlova, M., Ryabichenko, T. (2021) 'Ideologies of Intergroup Relations in Pedagogical Discourse: Representation of Cultures and Intercultural Interaction in the Educational Books for Migrant Children', *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research*, 50(6), 541-555.

Kozlova M. Moral justifications for the management of (ethno)cultural diversity in the educational space // *Journal of Social Policy Research*. 2022. Vol. 20. No. 4. 591-606 (In Russian) (Козлова М. Моральные обоснования управления (этно)культурным разнообразием в образовательном пространстве // *Журнал исследований социальной политики*. 2022. Т. 20. № 4. С. 591-606).

Task 6. Identification of patterns of social inclusion/exclusion within the framework of the dominant pedagogical discourse and organizational practices, taking into account the contextual conditions of their emergence and existence, and the prospects for their possible transformation.

The tendency to ethnicize and culturalize (Malakhov, 2004) social factors is characteristic of social ideas implicitly based on the essentialization of ethnicity. Both in everyday and expert knowledge, "culture" acts as a marker of the opposition between "us" and "them", thus becoming an instrument of legitimizing inequality and the realization of power, as we see in the discourses of school teachers. Rejection of culturalism, which overlooks contextualized and intersubjective interaction between complex personalities and leads to "multiple monoculturalism" (Sen, 2001) rather than dialogue, can thus be considered as a basic principle of diversity-based education. The concept of culture can regain its heuristic only if it is considered not as a thing, but as a process – from a dynamic point of view that takes into account both differences and similarities between individuals and groups, as well as including aspects that are "traditionally" separated from the concept of culture, for example, knowledge of political and economic systems, etc. The mindset to understand students also involves attention to multiple intersections of identity markers such as social class, age, gender, emotional state, etc. This can become the basis for the formation of teachers' desire to build systematic active, equal and therefore mutually enriching relationships with students' families and local

communities. In this way, the school can become a subject of larger-scale changes, transforming attitudes towards minorities and practices of everyday interaction between the host population and people with migration experience through grassroots activity of local communities.

Practices within the framework of an unspoken, but actually working, policy of "pathologization" of children with migration experience, as well as representatives of other vulnerable groups, are obviously discriminatory. In the context of globalization, on the one hand offering a wide range of opportunities to groups whose access to education was previously difficult (Powel, Albee, Gabel, 2009), under the slogan "Education for everyone" (UNESCO, 1994, 2003), on the other – generating new forms and grounds of social and economic inequality (Drilik, 1999), special education is being integrated into the global inclusive agenda. However, despite the declaration of inclusivity and equality, the policy and practice of special education seem to be used to maintain hierarchical social orders by "creating the inability" of children who "cause problems" to existing educational systems.

Culturalism and ablism, attributing to children with migration experience a persistent "inability", taking them beyond the "normality", justify their exclusion and segregation in education and in society. The analysis of educational policy through the prism of an intersectional approach makes it possible to think about ways of (re)organizing schools, from "correcting" the personality to justice, thus drawing attention not only to the characteristics, attitudes and behavior of students and teachers, but also to the structural features of the situation in which they work (Connor, Ferri, Annamma, 2015). Intersectionality thus supports the cultivation of relationships based on solidarity, in which teachers understand how students are subjected to systemic discrimination, how this discrimination is reproduced in school, and what teachers themselves can do to counter it, considering the curriculum and classroom relationships not as an instrument of punishment and exclusion, but as an integration tool. The inclusion of students and their families in the role of subjects of the educational process will help overcome the distance currently maintained between schools, families and communities, which undermines trust in teachers and educational institutions.

The results obtained are presented in the article:

Kozlova M. Moral justifications for the management of (ethno)cultural diversity in the educational space // *Journal of Social Policy Research*. 2022. Vol. 20. No. 4. 591-606 (In Russian) (Козлова М. Моральные обоснования управления (этно)культурным разнообразием в образовательном пространстве // *Журнал исследований социальной политики*. 2022. Т. 20. № 4. С. 591-606).

So, the theoretical framework used, based on the division of group-oriented moral motives into the motivation of social order and social justice and focused on the attitude to diversity, demonstrated heuristics in relation to the analysis of intergroup attitudes and support of national and cultural policies. In particular, the chosen framework made it possible to explicate moral assessments of ethno-cultural diversity embedded in the ideas of intra-group cohesion and supra-group integration, attitudes towards diversity and instruments of its moral regulation involved in school

textbooks and everyday educational practices, and patterns of support for appropriately oriented social policy programs. Thus, the priority of the morality of the social order, focused on the elimination of diversity, symmetrically provokes the strengthening of intergroup borders and mutual segregation of representatives of both the host population and migrant communities. So, the social context of the moral regulation of diversity, including the educational environment, is characterized by the presence of the host population's request for intra-group homogenization and hierarchization of intergroup relations, and support for national solidarity through the exclusion of minorities. This allows us to consider moral motivations as the basis for constructing strategies for regulating ethno-cultural diversity.

The assessment of the context by the community, which is the subject of constructing and broadcasting strategic guidelines and everyday practices of intra-group cohesion and supranational integration to new generations, acts as the basis for the moral regulation of diversity. If the environment external to the community is assessed as friendly, the community focuses on maintaining internal diversity and openness, offering a model of integration based on the morality of social justice for replication. In conditions that are assessed as hostile, threatening the integrity and vitality of the community, the strategies broadcast by school are focused on the closure and homogenization of the community, which ensures intra-group cohesion based on the morality of social order and limits the possibilities of integration. Thus, the moral motivations of diversity regulation act as a "transitional link" between GNP and educational practices.

The analysis of discourses on ethnocultural diversity in textbooks intended for representatives of the majority and children from families with migration experience demonstrates the symmetry of the effects of the essentialist representation of ethnicity and culture. The representation of culture as an objectified attribute, necessary and sufficient to define everyday practices, lifestyles and individual potential, fuels the pattern of welfare chauvinism for the majority and assimilation and segregation strategies for minority representatives. The likely changes in the nature of the representation of ethnicity and culture that have emerged in recent years are presented fragmentally and inconsistently in the textbook.

The diversity regulation practices implemented by Russian teachers correspond to the implicit concepts of diversity and social integration, the value-target prescriptions of the GNP normative documents, and the discourses of the textbook. A noticeable trend in this regard is the "pathologization" of children with migration experience. Thus, behind the facade of the established inclusion strategies aimed at identifying and categorizing differences within the school team, supported by the rhetoric of "special needs" and individual "deficits", hides the concept of homogeneity of the educational environment and the achievement of certain standards by an individual student. This fully corresponds to the principles of morality of the social order and contradicts the value-goal aspect of the policy of desegregation, equality, and inclusion. Monocultural ideology, which sets the framework for the presentation of educational material in the textbook, and the monolingual behavior of others, the exclusion of adult representatives of ethnic and

cultural minorities from communication, and depriving them of their voice as an opportunity to defend their interests in matters of parenting minimizes the likelihood of the spread of intercultural ideology, devalues biographical, cultural (linguistic) experience, different from the majority, and creates a symbolic opposition to the integration of foreign citizens by schools.

Contemporary Russian education faces a challenge caused by the contradiction between the actual growth of heterogeneity of the social environment and the individual's unpreparedness for the perception of such an environment and meaningful functioning in it. This contradiction is maintained at all levels of social regulation by prioritizing safety over well-being. This contributes to the dissemination and maintenance of restrictive morality of social order both at the level of mass representations and at the level of state policy. It is possible to define the current stage of development of the Russian school as intermediate between monocultural and intercultural educational models. The ideology corresponding to this stage is internally contradictory. On the one hand, it admits diversity as a demographic fact and a set of practices. On the other hand, guided by the value of security, it does not recognize the possibility of mutual consideration of the interests of interacting actors. Moving away from the limitations of monoculturalism, the current model does not imply an equal dialogue of cultures. The danger of this contradiction lies in its inherent potential for a return to monoculturalism in any situation of instability. The obtained results demonstrate the need to rethink the content of school textbooks and include materials that contribute to avoiding assimilation, and set a task for the academic community to develop a clear and flexible system of theoretical and methodological guidelines.

One of the main principles is to increase diversity in the intra-school environment. At the same time, the teaching staff can become a kind of platform for building and "working out" the techniques of existence and activity in a diverse social and educational environment. The equality of participants, i.e. the most elusive condition for constructive contact owing to the existing external social constructs is achieved precisely by including people with migration experience in the teaching staff, and allowing migrants to be perceived not as people engaged in low-skilled physical labor only. Unfortunately, this perception is currently reinforced by the content of some textbooks. Differences identified by participants in the educational process can be put into public discussion and reinterpreted in a way that will allow them to be presented as a value, subject and basis of social integration, and not as a barrier to mutual understanding. The inclusion of culture-sensitive material in the content of educational programs and books will work to the same effect. The presentation of materials reflecting the cultural experience of students in them empowers both the material itself and students who recognize this material as "their own", which, in turn, will act as an additional factor in strengthening the educational motivation and self-efficacy of students with migration experience, as well as open up additional ways and opportunities for dialogue.

List of publications by the author of the dissertation that reflect the main

research findings of the dissertation

Articles presented to the defense:

1. Kozlova M., Ryabichenko T. (2023) 'Multicultural ideology in hidden curriculum of schoolbooks for migrant children', *Europe-Asia Studies*, 75(2), 271-289 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2022.2092596>
2. Parfenova A., Kozlova M. (2023) 'The Regulatory Power of Social Expectations: Developing a Measurement Scale', *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 43(5/6), 569-585 <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJSSP-06-2022-0139>
3. Kozlova M., Kozlov A., Kornienko D. (2022) 'Inclusion against stress: higher education for representatives of the indigenous peoples of Russia', *Bulletin of Tomsk State University*. 474. 144-152 (In Russian) (Козлова М., Козлов А., Корниенко Д. Инклюзия против стресса: высшее образование для представителей коренных народов России // Вестник Томского государственного университета. 2022. № 474. С. 144-152).
4. Kozlova M., Ryabichenko T. (2021) 'Ideologies of Intergroup Relations in Pedagogical Discourse: Representation of Cultures and Intercultural Interaction in the Educational Books for Migrant Children', *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research*, 50(6), 541-555 <https://doi.org/10.1080/17475759.2021.1910065>
5. Kozlova M. (2020) 'Integration Patterns in Host Societies Analysed on the Basis of Alphabet Book Content for Russian Schools in Limitrophe States in the First Third of the Twentieth Century', *History of Education*, 49(5), 707-724 <https://doi.org/10.1080/0046760X.2020.1785687>
6. Mikheev I., Kozlova M. (200) 'Diversity management in the era of transnationalism: prospects and limitations in the educational space. Case study', *Journal of Social Policy Research*. 18(4). 657-672 (In Russian) (Михеев И., Козлова М. Управление многообразием в эпоху транснационализма: перспективы и ограничения в образовательном пространстве. Кейс-стади // Журнал исследований социальной политики. 2020. Т. 18. № 4. С. 657-672).
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8. Kozlova M. (2018) 'Schoolbook as an instrument of in-group cohesion and social integration: various strategies of intergenerational cultural transmission in the Latvian and the Polish primers and textbooks of Russian emigration in 1920s', *History of Education and Children's Literature*, XIII(2), 31-47.
9. Kozlova M., Simonova O., Voronina N. (2018) 'Portrait of social cohesion in the villages of Central Russia: Experiencing transformations and perception of the

- future'. *Sociological research*. 4. 103-111 (In Russian) (Козлова М., Симонова О., Воронина Н. Портрет социальной сплоченности в селах центральной России: Переживание трансформаций и восприятие будущего // Социологические исследования. 2018. № 4. С. 103-111).
10. Kozlova M., Kozlov A. (2016) 'The origins of morality focused on the individual and the group: socio-psychological and natural-scientific aspects', *Psychological Journal*. 37(3). 60-70 (In Russian) (Козлова М., Козлов А. Истоки морали, ориентированной на индивида и группу: социально-психологический и естественно-научный аспекты // Психологический журнал. 2016. Т. 37. № 3. С. 60-70).
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13. Kozlova M.A. (2014) 'Textbook as a tool for consolidating moral order and managing diversity: the use of the category "people/ethnos" in textbooks "Natural Science" and "The World around"', *Journal of Social Policy Studies*. 12(4). 583-598 (In Russian) (Козлова М.А. Учебная книга как инструмент закрепления морального порядка и управления многообразием: употребление категории «народ/этнос» в учебниках «Природоведение» и «Окружающий мир» // Журнал исследований социальной политики. 2014. Т. 12. № 4. С. 583-598).
14. Kozlova M. (2014) 'Morality for kids in cultural and historical measurements: patterns, translated by primary school textbooks and their transformation in the post-Soviet period', *History of Education and Children's Literature*, IX(2), 163-184.
15. Kozlova M.A. (2013) 'In the face of threat: factors of group cohesion in the educational literature of the Soviet period', *Domestic and foreign pedagogy*. 4(13). 121-132 (In Russian) (Козлова М.А. Пред лицом угрозы: факторы групповой сплоченности в учебной литературе советского периода // Отечественная и зарубежная педагогика. 2013. № 4 (13). С. 121-132).

Additional publications

16. Kozlova M. (2022) 'Moral justifications for the management of (ethno)cultural diversity in the educational space', *Journal of Social Policy Research*. 20(4). 591-606 (In Russian) (Козлова М. Моральные обоснования управления (этно)культурным разнообразием в образовательном пространстве //

Журнал исследований социальной политики. 2022. Т. 20. № 4. С. 591-606).

17. Kozlova M., Voronina N. (2017) *Strategies and tactics of cohesion in Russian society: a qualimetric approach*. М.: Publishing house "University Book". 328 p. (In Russian) (Козлова М., Воронина Н. Стратегии и тактики сплоченности в российском обществе: квалиметрический подход. М.: ИД «Университетская книга», 2017, 328 с.).

Approbation of research findings

XV Congress of Ethnographers and Anthropologists of Russia (St. Petersburg, 2023). Culture-sensitive education in the curriculum and educational practices: tools for integration and assimilation of children with migration experience (In Russian) (XV Конгресс этнографов и антропологов России (Санкт-Петербург, 2023). *Образование, чувствительное к культуре, в учебном плане и образовательных практиках: инструменты интеграции и ассимиляции детей с миграционным опытом*).

XXIII April International Scientific Conference on Problems of Economic and Social Development (Moscow, 2022). Ideologies of intergroup relations in pedagogical discourse: representation of cultures and intercultural interaction in the educational books for migrant children.

XXIII April International Scientific Conference on Problems of Economic and Social Development (Moscow, 2022). Adaptation and integration of migrant children in schools in Russia and Italy: the study of attitudes and practices of teachers. Coauthor - T.Ryabichenko (In Russian) (XXIII Апрельская международная научная конференция по проблемам развития экономики и общества (Москва, 2022). *Адаптация и интеграция детей-мигрантов в школах России и Италии: изучение установок и практик учителей*. В соавт. с Т. Рябиченко)

XIV Congress of Ethnographers and Anthropologists of Russia (Tomsk, 2021). Interculturalism in the Discourses of teachers and students: limitations and points of growth (in Russian) (XIV Конгресс этнографов и антропологов России (Томск, 2021). *Интеркультурализм в дискурсах учителей и учебников: ограничения и точки роста*)

All-Russian conference "Textbook as a model of the world and society" (Moscow, 2021). Intergroup relations in the hidden curriculum: analysis of the content of educational books for migrant children (in Russian) (Всероссийская конференция «Учебник как модель мира и общества» (Москва, 2021). *Межгрупповые отношения в скрытом учебном плане: анализ контента учебных книг для детей мигрантов*)

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