

National Research University Higher School of Economics

as a manuscript

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**The Role of Teachers' Values and Attitudes in Changing Intercultural Relations in
School Settings**

PhD Dissertation Summary
for the purpose of obtaining academic degree
Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology

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Moscow 2020

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE DISSERTATION

The relevance of the research problem

This research stems from the assumption that the schools across the world are facing a number of emergencies, and one of the main challenges is posed by the quality and quantity of diversity among pupils. Teaching, in the sense of transmitting knowledge, is no longer enough. Often, the pre-teaching training does not provide enough psychological and pedagogical tools to tackle such a complexity and, therefore, teachers feel hopeless and students may face failure. Considering the multi-faceted nature of the issue, it has been chosen to select those psychological mechanisms that are mostly involved in forming positive attitudes towards the unknown by increasing acceptance and serenity within the learning environment.

Migration floods have dramatically increased in frequency and numbers over the past two decades in Europe. The phenomenon is continually changing in characteristics and populations affected by it and the challenges they are posing are evolving, as well, demanding a difficult shift in the host communities. Many spheres within the social structure are struggling to find effective strategies and policies to balance the needs of the local population and those of immigrants who moved pursuing better life conditions for themselves and their keens: economically, socially, politically, and more. At the frontline there are the schools, with their personnel and the meso-environment that gravitates around. In this thesis, I focus on how teachers should (and therefore should not) respond to this challenge. Their role is considered horizontally, through a panel of adults equally involved in the education process, and vertically, through the dynamic that involves educators and pupils.

This study is dedicated to discrete how children's attitudes towards outgroup members, more specifically with a migrant background, within the school setting can be ameliorated. The active role of teachers has been isolated as a crucial factor in the processes leading to this outcome and one of the aspects that has not been fully explored yet. The research is in part motivated by the acknowledgment of teachers' responsibility to prepare all students adequately, which is greater, still more arduous, than ever. According to Gay (2010), teaching diverse students starts from embracing beliefs that recognise the strength of cultural

diversity. Yet, teachers need to translate those positive beliefs about cultural diversity into culturally responsive practices in their daily teaching.

The **research problem** that I have addressed in this work is whether teachers' values, attitudes towards migrants and cultural diversity beliefs can change intercultural relationships in schools. I developed three studies with intertwined research questions. Each of those studies contributes to understanding some crucial, yet marginally investigated, aspects of the complex relation between teachers' personas and their impact on class environments in an ever-changing student population. This work aims at filling the existing gap and gain knowledge about the teachers' values and acculturation preferences both through the lenses of their personal and professional characteristics and through social dynamics happening in the classrooms.

The degree of scientific development of the problem

Cultural groups and their individual members perform various relational pattern, so national policies, through their own inner organizations and institutions must take them into consideration (Berry, 1999). The Human Value Theory (Schwartz, 1994; Schwartz, 2007) and the attitudes toward immigration (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989; Berry, 2003) are fundamental components of the present research, but not as separate or independent factors. The focus must include the relation between the two.

Firstly, values can determine the relevance that is given to different beliefs in any evaluation of an attitude object (Esses, Haddock, and Zanna, 1993). Another possible approach argues that the relevance of the object of an attitude for the pursue of the motivational goals expressed in values is the underlying mechanism between them (Sagiv and Schwartz, 1995). In this sense, the arrival of immigrants will affect attitudes toward immigration by enhancing or obstructing specific motivational goals (Davidov, Meuleman, Billiet, & Schmidt, 2008).

Social Identity Development Theory (Nesdale, 2004) postulates that intergroup prejudice in young children relates to the social group's norms or expectations concerning appropriate attitudes and behavior. Accordingly, the impact of school norms (inclusion and friendliness vs. no school norms) on children's intergroup attitudes is a key factor in children

relationships with peers (Nesdale, Durkin, Maass, & Griffiths, 2004; Nesdale & Lawson, 2011).

This review has established that teachers, in their attitudes and expectations, establish biased interactions with children (both with and without migrant background) and must be aware of the impact that their intervention exerts at different levels. It has been shown that students use the relationships between their teachers and other students to form impressions about those peers (Hughes, Cavell, & Jackson, 1999; Hughes, Cavell, & Willson, 2001). The perception of differences in these interactions might negatively affect students' evaluation of ethnic differences in their classrooms (Thijs, & Verkuyten, 2014).

The **aim** of this study is to identify the role of teachers' values and their attitudes in forming a positive attitude of children to their migrant peers.

Objectives of the research:

Theoretical:

- to identify the main theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of teachers' role modelling for social skills;
- to develop a conceptual framework for studying the values and attitudes of teachers as a factor in changing students' acculturation expectations.

Methodological:

- to define methods for studying acculturation strategies among children;
- to define methods to study teacher-pupils dynamics;
- to develop the design of the empirical research;
- to test the method of sympathy (likeability) of S. Reisen on a Russian-language sample
- to develop and validate methods for the assessment of social skills transmission.

Empirical:

- to analyse the relationship between values and acculturation preferences of teachers
 - to identify the role of teachers' attitudes to tolerance in the relationship between their values and acculturation expectations.
- to identify the role of Pro-social attitudes of teachers in forming a positive attitude of children of the host society to migrant children

- to identify the role of emotional and contextual factors in the formation of a visual image of a migrant child in the children of the host society

The research **object** is the study of intercultural relations between students.

The research **subject** is the role of teachers' values and acculturation expectations in forming a positive attitude of children to their migrant peers.

General hypothesis: Teachers' Openness to change and Self-transcendence values and inclusive acculturation expectations will facilitate more favorable attitudes among pupils towards their migrant peers.

Specific hypotheses:

- Teachers' values of Openness to change and Self-transcendence will be positively, while the values of Self-Enhancement and Conservation will be negatively associated with the acculturation expectation of migrants' integration (Multiculturalism).

- Teachers' attitudes to tolerance will mediate the relationship between their values and acculturation expectation. In particular, it will strengthen the positive relationship between the values of Openness to change and Self-transcendence with the teachers' preference for Integration (Multiculturalism).

- Prosocial attitudes of teachers help to increase the sympathy of children of the host society for migrant children (as individuals)

- Prosocial attitudes of teachers help to increase positive and reduce negative stereotypes of migrant children (as members of the out-group) in children of the receiving society.

- Contextual and emotional factors will contribute to the formation of a visual image of a migrant peer in children of the host society.

The theoretical and methodological base

Theoretical and methodological foundations for the present work are derived from: 1.

Intercultural Relations

The theoretical approach to the dynamics of interaction between ingroup preferences and outgroup biases and attributions offers a fundamental basis for the research where different cultures meet and / or collide, as well as exploring the possibility of group

boundaries being permeable to individuals as it is postulated in the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979)

Hypothesis of Contact (Allport, 1954), stating that equal status and proximity contribute to a reduction of prejudice;

Theory of Basic Human Values (Schwartz, 1994), as motivational forces that lead intentions and behaviour;

Acculturation strategies and preferences within the mainstream population (Berry, Segall, & Kagitcibasi, 1999; Berry, 2008);

2. Children Characteristics and School Setting

Social Identity Developmental Theory (Nesdale, cit.), which observes the progress in forming ingroup/outgroup concepts at different stages of development in children.

Stereotypes and Prejudice in Childhood (Aboud, 2008), which is highly connected to the previous as it is not as consolidated as for adults;

Imitative Learning (Bandura, 1977) is relevant to substantiate the importance of teachers' role modelling.

Psychological studies on children attitudes (Jones et al., 2012) via the medium of vignette and using priming elements.

Methods of the research

To perform the tasks, a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods of socio-psychological research was applied.

The following methodological tools were used.

Methods and scales for the quantitative measurement of the socio-psychological constructs among school practitioners: 1) the MIRIPS (Centre for Applied Cross-Cultural Research, 2010) designed to investigate mutual intercultural relations in plural societies, in its version for the dominant group; the short version of Schwartz PVQ-21 value questionnaire as validated by Ciecuch and Davidov (2012) for measuring individual values.

Methods and scales for the quantitative measurement of the socio-psychological constructs among children: 1) the Reysen Likability Scale (2005) to measure the positive attitudes of children toward the single member of the outgroup; 2) Multi-response Racial Attitude Scale (Doyle and Aboud, 1995), used to measure the positive and negative attitudes

towards both the ingroup and the outgroup; 3) Schubert and Otten's Overlap of Self, Ingroup and Outgroup items (2002) to measure the ingroup identification and outgroup distance.

The method of vignettes (Hazel, 1995) to elicit perceptions, opinions, beliefs and attitudes from responses to a hypothetical scenario. Vignettes were developed according to a specific procedure for both countries so to be identical.

A quasi-experiment method through priming instructions as an auxiliary indirect method for studying children's reactions and attitudes.

For the qualitative part of the research, drawings (Brooks, 2005; Hall, 2010) were used to prompt more emotional involvement and to bypass the verbal code in favour of a symbolic one.

Techniques that were not originally presented in Russian or Italian were translated and adapted to the Russian and Italian samples, respectively. The procedure was carried out using the techniques of direct and reverse translation (Jones & Kay, 1992). All the materials presented in Russian and Italian, passed a double assessment by a native speaker of the target language not directly involved in the research group.

The reliability of the results obtained is ensured by the theoretical and methodological validity of the methods used and the representativeness of the sample.

Methods of statistical data processing: descriptive statistics, correlation analyses, confirmator factor analysis, analysis of variance ANOVA & MANOVA, Multigroup Factor Analysis, Structural Equation Modelling, χ^2 Tests, Percentage agreement, Fleiss' k and Krippendorff's k . The software used was SPSS 22.0 statistical packages, AMOS 22.0, and JAMOVI 1.0.

The empirical base of the study n. 1: educators, school practitioners, and administratives from 16 European countries ($N = 123$; 38 men, 85 women, $M=31.5$, $SD=10.9$). All respondents completed an anonymous online questionnaire created on the Questionpro.com platform.

The empirical base of the study n. 2 and 3: pupils from 3 primary schools in the Northern regions of Italy ($N=93$, 46 males, 47 females) and from 5 primary schools in Moscow and Moscow region ($N=134$, 59 males, 75 females). The age group has been controlled so it did not differ across the samples ($M=10.27$).

Scientific novelty

In this work, many elements can be seen as theoretically and methodologically novel.

1) Several constructs have been previously tested on the general population or separately for the group of teachers and the group of pupils. The present research offers a tentative approach to better understand social and individual factors within a specific professional context (school staff) and the dynamic interplay between two of its main agent groups (teachers and pupils). Human Values (Schwartz, cit.), Acculturation Preferences (Berry, cit.), SIDT (Nesdale, cit.) have been systematically sequenced and combined in order to investigate their role in transmitting pro-social skills, specifically towards immigrants. The mediating role of Tolerance in enhancing the positive relation between two values (Self-transcendence and Openness to change) and Multiculturalism has been tested through a quasi-experiment via a standard set of instructions designed to include them. Therefore, the positive link found between instructions and increasing favourable attitudes can be seen as first evidence of the modelling function of teachers in this realm. The third study expand on the previous results and introduces a shift in focus when dealing with diversity in the classroom: even though educational actions aiming at developing cognitive/factual knowledge are relevant and opportune, the emotional sphere has proved to be the most retained aspect among students, raising the issue of its underestimated role in the dialogue between the receiving and the settling cultures.

2) This research work has been designed to include several techniques. The aspects of novelty can be seen as follow: a) the validation of two international scales for the Italian and the Russian population; b) the replication of the use of vignette techniques, previously employed to detect group norms among peers, to address pro-social norms within the vertical relationship between teachers and pupils; 3) the use of drawings to explore children's perception of identity factors, their salience and meaningfulness, referred to another peer.

The theoretical significance of the work lies in the fact that the present results are enriching the existing knowledge on inter-group dynamics within the school context. Firstly, previous research on values and acculturation preferences within the host community (Sapienza, Hichy, Guarnera, & Nuovo, 2010) has shown mainly the direct effects of Self-Enhancement and Conservation on acculturation strategies. This study is adding Tolerance as

a mediator, thus unfolding indirect effects of all the values on each strategy: these findings open more undercurrent paths that can be taken further to better explain intercultural relationships from the mainstream society's point of view. Secondly, the effect of teachers' attitudes on the pupils' academic performance has been long established (among the first, refer to Hanushek, 1989). Still, the link between teachers' attitudes and students' pro-social skills is not fully explored (Hwang & Evans, 2011) and this study offers a valuable addition to the field in the specific context of migrations. Finally, consistently with previous research (Kustatscher, 2017), the results on how children perceive the psychological identity of immigrant peers can be considered a meaningful extension to cross-cultural relations in school.

The practical implication of the study can be found in how the present findings become relevant in the field of education, educational psychology, and developmental psychology. For teachers (but similarly, more broadly, for school staff and caregivers) they can be mostly applied in the daily interactions and for trainings. The awareness that children are sensitive to a verbal priming when facing a new and foreign member in their class-group should remind the adults that the classroom, the school, and the surroundings, are never a fully neutral environment for newcomers with an immigration background. Personal and professional factors can foster a more (or less) welcoming atmosphere and they can be partially changed through *ad-hoc* trainings. Other professionals in the field of mental health can also potentially benefit from these findings, especially when considering how positive and negative emotions are perceived and how emotional competences are often overlooked in formal education. That applies to those practitioners working specifically with children (i.e., in schools) or in any field involving cross-cultural meetings and/or clashes. On a different level, the country differences highlight persistent challenges that Italian and Russian immigration policies are facing at several levels, not only in schools, and some suggestions are offered based on the present results.

Basic ideas of the dissertation to be defended:

1. Individual values of teachers are related to their acculturation preferences, and this relationship is mediated by the tolerant attitudes of teachers.

2. Tolerant attitudes of teachers strengthen the positive relationship of the values of Openness to change and Self-Transcendence with the acculturation expectation of Integration (Multiculturalism), contributing to the formation of an inclusive climate in the school.

3. Pro-social attitudes of teachers that reflect sympathy, tolerance, and openness towards new migrants contribute to a more positive attitude of students towards migrant children, which can be seen as evidence of the modeling function of teachers in this area.

4. Close cultural distance with the outgroup contributes to a positive perception of both the newcomer-migrant and their group.

5. There are cross-cultural differences in the influence of group identification on children's intercultural attitudes. Ingroup identification of children contributes to a positive attitude towards the newcomer migrant group in both countries, while in Italy identification with one's own group reduces the stigma of the newcomer migrant group.

6. When forming a visual image of a new migrant, the most important thing is the emotional attitude of students from both countries. However, in Italy, students are more likely to record positive characteristics of a migrant peer, while in Russia-negative.

Approbation and introduction of the results:

The content of the work was discussed at the scientific seminars of the International Research and Training Laboratory for Socio-Cultural Research at HSE "Culture Matters", at the VII International Summer School "From Proposal to Submission: Design of Cross-Cultural Study" at HSE (2017), at the VIII International Summer School "Design of Cross-Cultural Study" HSE (2018). In the last year, the results of the present research have been presented and discussed in academic workshops and conferences, both through presentations and posters.

- The report "Teachers' role and identity" has been discussed both at the VI International Research Conference "Culture in Society, Between Groups and Across Generations" (Moscow, 05-06 April 2019) in English and at the XII scientific-practical conference "Подросток в мегаполисе: продолженное взросление" (Moscow, 9-11 April 2019) in Russian.

- The report “Which teacher identity for a complex society?” was discussed at the V international forum on teacher education, the IFTE at the Kazan Federal University (29-31 May, 2019).

- The report "Pupils' attitudes towards migrants in Italy and Russia: the role of ingroup identification and intergroup distance" was presented at The Migration Conference (18-20 June, Bari, Italy);

- A poster on "Teachers' role and cross-cultural differences in pupils' attitudes towards migrants: a field-study in Italy and Russia" was presented at the European Congress of Psychology (2-5 July, Moscow).

Dissertation structure:

The thesis consists of five chapters, contains an introduction and conclusions, a list of references (439 sources, of which 1 is in Russian, 1 in German, and 437 in English) and 5 appendices. The work includes 9 figures and 24 tables. The total amount of the text of the thesis is 179 pages.

Publications: The dissertation materials are presented in 4 publications. Of these, 1 publication in Russian and 3 in English in journals recommended by HSE, and 3 publications in English in journals from the WoS / Scopus list

MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

Intercultural Relations are a troublesome consequence of deep changes in mobility and contacts among peoples. At a fundamental level, it requires learning how to see oneself and the world through the eyes of another. This process is rooted in childhood and evolves through experiences and education (Knörr, 2012; Cheng & Lee, 2009). Thus, schools are a crucial context that can steer the future directions of economic development, social cohesion and the stabilization of democratic cultures for the present and the future starting from childhood by fostering a deeper understanding towards migrations and immigrants (Heckman, 2008).

The study of this problem dictates the use of an integrated and systematic approach, involving the inclusion of various theoretical backgrounds and research tools, to form a holistic view of behavior in intercultural relations, which is the foundation of the present study.

The **Introduction** reflects the relevance of the research topic, as well as the degree of its development in domestic and foreign psychological literature. In this part, the object, subject, and objectives of the study are identified; the research tasks and methodologies are described. The overall structure and rationale of the dissertation are also anticipated to introduce the reader to the single parts and their connections.

The aim of this study is to provide evidence supporting the concurrent role of the cross-cultural dimensions of the migrations and the (still developing) social elements present in the teacher-student' and peers' dynamics. All of them have been proved reliable and they are significant agents when referring to social processes of inclusion and exclusion.

The theoretical part of the study is presented in the first section “**Theoretical Approaches to Studying Intercultural Relations in School Settings**”, organized in two chapters in order to address specifically the relevant literature on intercultural relations and the peculiarities of school settings. The existing approaches are systematized and the relevant background (derived from cross-cultural studies) has been preferred. The first chapter acts as an umbrella to include those theories that contribute to understand and investigate **intergroup relations, human values, and acculturation**.

In this paragraph, the goal is to organically explore and connect the existing ideas about 4 crucial constructs related to intercultural relations: the social identity of the majority and minority groups, the emotional and behavioural mechanisms underlying intergroup interactions, human values and acculturation strategies.

In the first paragraph “**Social Identity Theory**”, its definition and legacy are critically commented, highlighting the links between cognitive biases, processes, and outcomes at play when building a multicultural society. Being “Social Identity” a person's sense of who they are based on their group membership(s), we see the group to which we belong (the ingroup) as being different from the others (the outgroup), and members of the same group as being more similar than how they actually are. For instance, friendship is introduced as an example of such positive bias, when individuals are more likely to be friends with like individuals (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001). Regarding to the target context, it has been reported that in schools, students who are of the same race/ethnicity or achievement level, or in the same track, are much more likely to be friends (Kubitschek and Hallinan 1998).

Reversely, a major concern is to take into account the participants' stereotypes and to avoid the perception of threat.

The second paragraph, "**Inter-group Contact Hypothesis**", adds information and strategies to resolve prejudice and enhance cooperation. Even though the overall outcomes are supporting an optimistic position on the role of contact, some situations are actually enhancing prejudice. For the purpose of this study, only factors which can twist a potentially hostile situation into a more collaborative and respectful scenario are extensively mentioned. Again, friendship is included as the best example of human contact, by involving cooperation and common goals as well as repeated equal-status contact over an extended period and across varied settings.

In the third paragraph "**Immigrants' Identity**", the previous constructs are specifically directed to gather information on how the immigrant, as a prototypical "outgroup member" is perceived and which mechanisms are the main determinants and regulators. It also offers theories, such as Common Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner et al., 2008), which draw the attention to a new more inclusive superordinate group and undermine the differences between the initial groups, thus applying some of Aboud's principles within formal institutions. Stepping forward from what seen before, this paragraph focuses on the assessment of immigrants' identity as it is perceived by the host population. This process introduces the role of a shared ingroup that inhibits the contrasting distance inferred by being a member of two distinct groups.

Next, the fourth paragraph "**Emotions and Empathy**" refers to emotional coping and interpersonal vs. situational sensitivity in the definition of intercultural competence. There is a growing consensus that empathy consists of affective and cognitive components (Eisenberg & Fabes, 1990). Empathy is seen at the core of socio-cognitive development (Eisenberg, Spinrad, & Morris, 2014). It has been observed that empathy constitutes also a base of prosocial orientation, which is an important premise in the actual shaping of the second empirical study. Significantly, empathy has been shown to be inversely related to ethnic and racial prejudice. In support to the function of teachers (but still not explicitly addressed), empathy develops via observation of others who encourage sensitivity, induce role taking, and draw attention to another's disadvantaged situation.

Similarly to empathy, the next paragraph explores “**Tolerance**” in its multifaceted, multidimensional and context-dependent construct. The majority of the studies have investigated tolerance in relation to ambiguity, to distress, or in connection to specific behaviours. Therefore, this area seems open to addition in the field of intercultural relations. The most relevant content comes from Berry’s intake of tolerance (2006): he distinguished two components, namely ethnic tolerance and social egalitarianism, and they are expected to predict greater intercultural contact.

The sixth paragraph “**Threat Perception**”, almost as a counterpart for the previous paragraph, examined how people process and react to threats, regardless of their concrete and imminent presence. Within the scope of this research, this element has a clear impeding function that must be considered and, in case, neutralized. Considering the pervasiveness of fear, a main choice that was made in the field-study with children was to purposefully avoid any reference to foreseeable menace or uneasiness. For teachers, as well, it must be pondered and, in case, scrutinized. As Taggart (1998) claims, one important reason for Euroscepticism stems from identity politics, in which people see the nation-state as the appropriate point of reference for identity and the EU as undermining the integrity of the nation-state (McLaren, 2002), and teachers are active member of the society in its “political” action.

The last two paragraphs are dedicated to two large studies that have seen more than 20 years of investigation across countries and cultures.

The seventh paragraph “**Schwartz Theory of Human Basic Values**”, offers both theoretical and methodological ground for the whole research, and for the study with school staff in particular. Values have been systematically sequenced and combined in order to investigate their role in transmitting pro-social skills, specifically towards immigrants. For sake of completeness, both the formulations of the circle of values have been discussed. However, the choice to use the original, less specific model can be understood by looking at the small sample available. Further, some newer values do not fully apply to the sample characteristics and the object of this work, and it seems more profitable to approach this investigation from a more conservative standpoint. The four high-ranking values, thus, can be seen simultaneously both “precise” and “broad”, keeping open the possibility of a follow-

up addressing in details the differences that have been overlooked by adopting this tool instead of the other.

Finally, the eighth paragraph “**Acculturation Strategies**” shares with the previous paragraph its role of theoretical and methodological source. In principle, one shared assumption across the different approaches that were used in investigating acculturation is the multidimensional nature of this process. Several levels, both individuals and societies, are affected. Further, being the target samples in both the empirical studies formed by members of the mainstream society, the fact that the acculturation process might depend not only on the immigrants’ attitudes but also on the host society’s preferences (Verkuyten, 2007) is a necessary presupposition to proceed with the research.

Furthermore, the intercultural strategies that all groups have when they experience intercultural relations may be explicit and overtly expressed or implicit and not expressed in daily life. The link between this first introductory chapter and the next one must stem from the understanding of the interactional context in which acculturation occurs. A part from the characteristics of the migrants themselves, this context includes the country and local community in which they settle.

The second chapter has a developmental approach, and it digs into **children characteristics and the components of school settings** that should be considered when interpreting such a complex system.

The first paragraph “**Development of Social Perception in Childhood**” introduces three further sub-paragraphs focusing on “**Attitudes**”, “**Categorization**”, “**Stereotypes and Prejudice**”. The assumption for it is that social preferences for members of one’s own social group, and rich conceptual inferences based on social group membership, are in place by the time children enter formal schooling. Considering that trying to halt the formation of social categorization is virtually impossible, many interventions have focused on reducing the social significance that people ascribe to the categories to which other people belong. Therefore, the extent of these factors and their insurgence are key elements to consider when planning a study with children of a specific age-group. After briefly introducing **attitudes** in their common conceptions and definitions, their early appearance is confirmed, thus it seems legit to include them in further steps.

However, for attitudes to be applicable to specific groups, it is necessary to confirm whether the **categorization** processes are also fully developed. For this reason, the following paragraph offers an overview on the principal milestones of this cognitive function. Interestingly, it seems worthy to mention how the neuronal bases of social processes (such as categorization and prejudice) have been lately considered and are now opening new fields of investigation (Amodio, 2014). For this study, an important aspect to keep into consideration is the immersion in social worlds where children are surrounded by social, cultural, and interpersonal experiences. By the age of ten, most children have internalized social and moral norms and can effectively take the perspective of others and engage in self-presentation.

Finally, two outcomes of categorization are **stereotypes** and **prejudice**. Some authors have attently investigated the stages and the constructs which characterized these constructs at early age: 1) Aboud (2008) identified 4 statements that accounted for the changes in prejudice acquisition in young children, from external to internal factors; 2) Nesdale (SIDT, 2004) offers a model which provides a progression in four sequential development phases, namely “undifferentiated”, “ethnic awareness”, “ethnic preference”, and “ethnic prejudice” and he found that children acquire a stable ethnic self-identity approximately at the age of 7; 3) Thijs and Verkuyten (2016) studied children’s increasing awareness of social group norms and of ethnicity, and their differences among majority and minority groups.

The chapter continues with the third paragraph on differences in **school** systems between **Russia and Italy**. The first sub-paragraph “**Teachers within national school systems**”, highlights the quite high expectations that parents and governments have on them: teachers must be good citizens, people with high moral qualities, professionals, researchers, educators, consultants, project managers, sensitive, attentive and receptive to the interests of students, open to everything new, promoting social and emotional aspects of learning. The main divergences relate to the length of compulsory education for children (11 years in Russia vs. 13 years in Italy) and the training requirements for becoming a teacher (a bit more flexible in Russia, undergoing major changes in Italy). The second sub-paragraph is devoted to “**Migrants in schools**”. Without dwelling in too much details, the figures provided in the text can offer a picture of how size and origin of migration flows are clearly different among

these two countries, thus alerting anybody to the necessity to approach cautiously this phenomenon in its geopolitical peculiarities.

From children's characteristics to school systems to, finally **“Teachers as role models”** (the third sub-paragraph), the attention is now on the key figure that has been chosen for this research work. In the school community, classrooms are seen as social contexts in which various interactions occur amongst adolescents. Pupils' interactions with teachers and peers in these social contexts impact their sense of school belonging, as well as their social and emotional adjustment, engagement, academic motivation, and learning.

There are three lower-paragraphs: firstly, in **“Teachers' modelling and students' imitative learning”**, the importance of imitative learning has been addressed. Children are more likely to generalize observed types of behaviour when they witness a positive and desirable outcome. They are also selective in whom they decide to copy. The imitative learning process, then, must be considered in its multiple layers of cognitive, adaptive, social and individual components. This process requires a high level of metacognition, because the focus is primarily on social learning from knowledgeable agents. While the role of teachers when modelling cognitive and behavioural outcomes is widely investigated with consistent results (Montague and al. 2014), their effect on value transmission is not so univocal and well-known. Even though it is considered to exert an implicit influence, few studies have attempted at gathering evidence about the transmission of values through teachers (Van Oudenhoven et al., 2012). Secondly, **“Role modelling and intercultural relations”**, the combination of beliefs, emotions and the ability to navigate in complexity can be called “agency” among school staff. When dealing with intercultural relations, teachers' ability to be holding complexity is emphasised. In Ryan and Deci (2017), the competence that most assists teachers' in this task is motivation. They refer to the three main aspects of teachers' motivation: feeling competent (i.e., teacher-efficacy), but also having some autonomy and not at least connectedness, (i.e., working in a school culture supporting collaboration among school staff). Thirdly, **“Levels of intercultural interactions”**, refers to ethnically incongruent relationships between students and teachers. Ethnocultural diversity is not agreed upon as either good or bad for both the host community and the minorities. Schools are particularly troubled by such ever-changing positions and they struggle to find effective

strategies which can empower the future generations and build all the necessary skills for the society-to-be. A fair chance to build balanced interactions between native and immigrant children is a key element for academic success and integration.

After this ample, but essential, theoretical review, the second section **“Empirical research on role of teachers' values and attitudes in changing intercultural relations in school settings”** examines the stages of three studies, describes the methods used, provides characteristics of the sample and descriptive statistics of variables, analyzes the main results, discusses their findings and provides conclusions and suggestions.

The first empirical study is dedicated to a sample of education practitioners in order to assess personal and professional differences in values and acculturation expectations. This first step is required to identify strengths and weaknesses that may affect the transmission of social skills and are specifically associated with the school staff's leading role, and it is presented in the third chapter, **“Teachers' survey”**.

The first paragraph, **“Rationale and Hypotheses”**, is offering a narrower background to contextualize the rationale of the study and its necessity. The purpose of this study is to address school staff's adaptive and maladaptive reactions to cultural diversity. It seems necessary to reaffirm the function of role-models and rule-setters that all the adult members of the school community exert on the student body: being “cultural diversity” the main focus here, personal values and acculturation expectations are to be preferred and have been investigated. The research question is whether school staff's values and acculturation preferences might differ based on personal or contextual characteristics. Further, the role of tolerance is considered as mediating the link between values and acculturation expectations. The goal is to identify and disaggregate personal and professional characteristics supporting values and acculturation expectations within school staff in order to better understand how they are linked to more or less inclusive actions. In other words, on the one hand, the factors are analysed separately, in their specific recurrence and atomic weight to verify the role of each individual category (namely gender, religion, role, length of experience, and areas of expertise) on the expression of values and acculturation expectations; on the other hand, a model is tested to offer a tentative comprehensive explanation of their interactions and moderations in determining different intercultural outcomes.

The paragraph “**Method**” contains a methodological description of the first empirical research. The research procedure is outlined and substantiated, its methods, and the general characteristics of the sample are presented.

Participants were 123 school professionals, 85 of which females (69.7%), from 16 European countries. An online survey has been launched starting in July 2017 until December 2018. It was aimed at teachers, instructors, and administrative staff with different professional competences and positions in education. The questionnaire is in English and it comprises two parts: the PVQ-21 and the Dominant Group Version of the Mutual Intercultural Relations in Plural Societies (MIRIPS) questionnaire.

The “**Results**” paragraph lists the statistical analyses which were performed (Descriptives, Correlations, Manovas, SEM) and the findings. A main effect of gender was found on two values. Universalism’s parameters are $F(1, 121) = 8.631, p=.004, \eta^2 = .06$; Benevolence showed $F(1,121) = 8.816, p=.004, \eta^2 = .06$. Female participants reported significantly more positive tendencies towards Universalism ($M = 5.05, SD = .74$) and Benevolence ($M = 5.04, SD = .73$) than their male counter-part ($M = 3.83$ and $SD = .86$; $M = 4.61$ and $SD = .87$ respectively). Also, female participants are reporting higher values for Multiculturalism ($F(1,121) = 4.549, p=.012, \eta^2 = .06$) and lower for Melting-Pot ($F(1,121) = 3.521, p=.032, \eta^2 = .05$) than their male counterpart. Scores for Segregation and Exclusion did not differ across the sample. A main effect of religion was found on Conformity, $F(1, 121) = 6.671, p=.000, \eta^2 = .13$. Those who reported a monotheistic affiliation scored higher in this respect ($M = 4.19, SD = 1.11$) than those who did not report any religious practice ($M = 3.38, SD = .96$ M) or declared to belong to other cults ($M = 3.53, SD = 1.32$). A main effect of religion on Acculturation Expectation was found for Melting-Pot: in this instance, respondents belonging to Monotheist religions reported lower scores ($F(1, 121) = 4.736, p=.010, \eta^2 = .066$). Contrary to the guiding assumption, a main effect of Role on Conformity was recorded ($F(4, 118) = 2.408, p=.053, \eta^2 = .07$). Respondents who work outside the mainstream educational system as trainers, and, at a lesser extent, those who work with (very) young learners, scored lower in Conformism than those respondents who work with older students or in administration. A main effect of Role on Acculturation Expectation was also found: more specifically, for Segregation ($F(4, 118) = 3.379, p=.011, \eta^2 = .09$) and

Melting-Pot ($F(4, 118) = 4.351, p=.002, \eta^2 = .12$). A main effect of Experience was found on Hedonism, $F(3,119) = 8.725, p=.004, \eta^2 = .06$. Participants with less than 10 year-experience reported a higher level of Hedonism ($M = 4.39, SD = 1.01$) than more experienced respondents ($M = 3.87$ and $SD = 1.00$). A main effect of Subject was found on Universalism, $F(3, 119) = 3.418, p=.019, \eta^2 = .07$. Respondents with an eclectic background and practice had higher scores in Universalism than those respondents who had a high specialization, regardless of the nature of it. Finally, the direct effects of values on acculturation preferences and the mediating effects of Tolerance on the relationship between them were tested. The model comprises the 4 high-ranking values as predictors, Tolerance as mediator, the 4 Acculturation Strategies as outcomes. Structural equation modelling revealed that all the paths through Tolerance are significant. Only two values showed significant direct effects on Acculturation strategies: Self-Enhancement on Segregation, Exclusion and Melting-Pot; Self-Transcendence on Multiculturalism. There are also two tendencies in the direct effect of Self-Transcendence on Melting-Pot and Conservation on Exclusion. The analysis shows that there were significant indirect effects of Tolerance. More in details, for Self-Enhancement three positive partial mediations (Segregation, $\beta = .14, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI: } .05, .25$; Exclusion, $\beta = .05, p < .05, 95\% \text{ CI: } .01, .10$; Melting-Pot, $\beta = .17, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI: } .07, .28$) and one negative full mediation for Multiculturalism, ($\beta = -.12, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI: } -.21, -.04$) were shown.

For Openness to Change the results showed four full mediations, three negative (Segregation, $\beta = -.15, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI: } -.25, -.06$; Exclusion, $\beta = -.05, p < .05, 95\% \text{ CI: } -.12, -.01$; Melting-Pot, $\beta = .19, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI: } -.29, -.07$) and one positive (Multiculturalism, $\beta = .13, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI: } .05, .22$).

Also in Conservation there were four full mediations, three positive (Segregation, $\beta = .13, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI: } .05, .22$; Exclusion, $\beta = .05, p < .05, 95\% \text{ CI: } .01, .13$; Melting-Pot, $\beta = .14, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI: } .06, .25$) and one negative for Multiculturalism, $\beta = -.07, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI: } -.13, -.02$.

For Self-Transcendence three negative full mediations (Segregation, $\beta = -.30, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI: } -.42, -.19$; Exclusion, $\beta = -.13, p < .05, 95\% \text{ CI: } -.24, -.03$; Melting-Pot,

$\beta = -.34, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI: } .46, .24$) and one positive partial mediation (Multiculturalism, $\beta = .16, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI: } .07, .26$) were shown.

It can be concluded that Tolerance was significantly related to all the high-ranking Values and Acculturation Strategies.

In the following paragraph, **“Discussion”**, the results are commented and compared to the existing literature. Being this study a precursor for the next two, it seems crucial to report on the main effects that were recorded, both within individual/cultural factors and professional characteristics. Further, in wording the instructions that were used for the empirical study with children, the mediating role of Tolerance and the values of Self-Enhancement and Openness to Change were essential.

The second empirical study is described in the fourth paragraph **“Teachers’ instructions and group perception”**. In the **“Rationale and Hypotheses”** paragraph, the aims and research questions for this project are provided. This research aims at examining the relationships between teachers’ instructions and changes in attitudes and stereotypes towards migrants with unspecified backgrounds within the mainstream student population. It is expected that teachers’ own explicit expectations will affect how pupils react to a newcomer: the more inclusive is the priming received from teachers, the more well-disposed the children will be. No major differences across the sample are anticipated. Moreover, it also examines the role of ingroup identification and intergroup distance in assessing others, both at individual and group level.

As seen above, the following paragraph is dedicated to the **“Method”**, with the methodological description of the second empirical research. Data were collected in 3 schools in Northern Italy and in 5 schools in Russia, in Moscow and the nearby region. The final sample counts 134 valid respondents from Russia (59 males) and 93 from Italy (46 males) with a mean age of 10.27. After obtaining Ethical approval, and the informed consent of the parents, school staff and children, the procedure was carried out: it lasted one academic hour with the contribution of (one of) the main teachers for each class. There were several stages which can be summarized in “introduction”, “priming” (teacher’s instructions), “independent reading of the vignette”, “graphic representation”, “questionnaire”. For the full description of the several stages, see Bombieri, L., Galyapina,

V., & Bushina, E. (2019). *Teachers' Effectiveness at Changing Pupils' Attitudes towards Migrants: A Field Study in Italy and Russia*. Psychology. Journal of Higher School of Economics, 16(2), 285-301. The items that were included in the questionnaire were retrieved from Reysen (2005), Multi-response Racial Attitude Scale (Doyle and Aboud, 1995), Schubert and Otten's Overlap of Self, Ingroup and Outgroup items (2002).

The **“Results”** paragraph lists the statistical analyses which were performed (Descriptives, Correlations, Manovas, Multigroup Path Analysis) and the findings. A MANCOVA with “country” as independent variable and “newcomer’s likeability”, “outgroup positive” and “outgroup negative” attitudes, “intergroup distance” and “ingroup identification” as dependent variables was performed. The analysis showed a significant multivariate main effect: Wilks’ $\lambda = .797$, $F(5,323) = 16.47$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .203$. When asked about the prospective new student’s characteristics, Italian participants reported significantly more positive expectations than Russians. Similarly, on a group level, students in Russia rated the outgroup less pleasantly than in Italy, but there is less contrast between the positive and negative connotations. To test whether the teacher’s instructions contributed in changing attitudes and expectations towards the newcomer, we performed an analysis of variance on the whole sample. A main effect of instructions on Likeability was found, $F(1, 223) = 7.067$, $p = .008$, $\eta^2 = .03$. Participants reported significantly more positive expectations in the condition of pro-social instructions ($M = 4.24$, $SD = .73$) than in the case of discipline instructions ($M = 3.83$, $SD = .86$). As for countries, a main effect was found on three of five scales: Likeability’s parameters are $F(1, 223) = 10.37$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .04$; Ingroup-neg showed $F(1,223) = 10,78$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .05$; Outgroup-pos’ values are $F(1,225) = 28.14$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .11$. Italian Participants reported significantly more positive expectations for the individual ($M = 4.29$, $SD = .61$) than Russians ($M = 3.86$, $SD = .90$); less negative expectations for the ingroup (for Italy $M = 2.77$, $SD = .54$ and for Russia $M = 3.10$, $SD = .78$); less positive expectations for the outgroup (for Italy $M = 4.67$, $SD = .94$ and for Russia $M = 5.19$, $SD = .71$). A multigroup path model was run to test relationships between the intergroup perceived distance and ingroup identification, with likeability and outgroup positive and negative attitudes. The unconstrained (i.e., free-to-vary) model showed good fit for the combined sample, $\chi^2(2, N = 343) = 9.19$, $p = .000$, CFI = .94, RMSEA = .07. However, a

fully constrained structural weights solution could not be obtained ($\chi^2(8, N = 334) = 3.05, p = .002, CFI = .935, \Delta CFI = .01, RMSEA = .08$), indicating that direction and strength of relationships in the two countries are different across samples. Examination of the standardized coefficients rendered that ingroup identification positively predicted by favourable attitudes toward the outgroup (H1.2) while the values for the outgroup's individual and the diminishing characteristics of the outgroup itself showed contradictory paths. As for the other factor that is being tested, intergroup distance followed the same pattern across the two samples, loading favourable attitudes towards the outgroup member and his/her group when perceived closer to the ingroup, with still a rate of stigma associated to the outgroup.

In the following paragraph, “**Discussion**”, the results are commented and compared to the existing literature. With regard to the general assumption that receiving pro-social instruction should promote more positive attitudes among the majority pupils toward a newcomer, all the findings are converging and consistently reinforcing a quite noticeable effect of the teachers' influence. When invited to be open and welcoming, students indicated a higher level of friendliness and kindness. However, all the five measures differ according to the origin of the sample, implying a cultural component that modulate the common trends of reactions. Italian students tend to favour the individual who is expected to join their group, rather than the unknown group of friends who is not due to directly interact with them. The same does not apply to the Russian sample, where the outgroup, as a whole, scores higher than the individual, and the group assessment is more polarized. Moving to the model, similarities and differences in the role of ingroup identification and intergroup distance between these two samples have been found. Several relations are matching in direction, value and significance. The main communal aspect relates to the effect of intergroup distance. Firstly, its facilitating impact on increasing the benevolent expectations while still registering negative outgroup biases has been confirmed. It can be successfully argued that a lower gap perception between the ingroup and the outgroup has the effect to shed a more favourable light on the newcomer and their group in both the respondents' groups. Among the differences, however, the ingroup identification failed to produce significant and consistent results for all the hypotheses. By measuring how the individual perceive the self as

similar to the other members of their own inner circle of relations, it was expected to record higher levels of rejection of the outgroup, by lowering the positive attribution for the individual and the whole group and increasing the negative ones. Partially debunking it, the analysis of the trends shows that a few expectations have been reversed. Only among Russians, there are fewer positive attributions for the newcomer and higher negative attitudes toward the group which are in line with previous literature. Both samples showed a positive trend between ingroup identification and outgroup positive characteristics, and the previous loading are reversed among Italians.

The fifth chapter covers the third empirical study, “**Newcomer’s identity representation**”. This study is dedicated to children’s perceptions within the school setting. The aim of the present research is to expand on the existing literature on immigrant children’s identity, especially in the part concerning how they are perceived by the national peer group. Therefore, in the “**Rationale and Hypotheses**” paragraph, these theoretical assumptions are included and with the addition of some methodological considerations on qualitative studies among children.

The “**Method**” paragraph describes the sample (a portion of the larger one involved in the previous study) of 161 children in their last year of primary school: 105 from Russia (males $N=49$) and 56 from Italy (Males $N=39$), with an average age of 10.23 year. The procedure includes the isolated “graphic representation” step from the previous study: students were asked to imagine a fictional newcomer, whose identity and origin have not been clearly defined. The instructions prompted to draw the new boy/girl who was going to join them, and they were worded as follows: “Now, I would like you to draw an image of Yori. Before you do so, please take a moment to think about him/her. Try to image his/her situation. What do you think how you would be feeling, if you were in his/her position? Try to imagine this as vividly as possible. Can you draw how you imagine Yori looks like and his/her worries and expectations?”. In order to better fit the intended target population, we opted to use drawings as a projective tool to explore similarities and differences in info processing when assessing immigrants’ identities. Three independent reviewers coded the drawings. For each participant, we registered gender, ethnic origin, school, presence or absence of the manipulated elements (Context, Culture, and Emotions). In addition, it was

also recorded the presence of colour as a give-away of care and attention. In order to address the question of consistency, or agreement among the raters, three tests were performed: percent agreement, Fleiss' kappa and Krippendorff's kappa. The final coding set has been approved by the three observers and has been used for all the further analyses.

The following **“Results”** paragraph reports on the themes included in the representations and the differences across the two national samples. The statistical analyses were frequencies and *Chi squared* tests. Respondents from Russia and Italy had significant discrepancies for all the themes that we identified. In Russia there were higher scores for NoDifference ($X^2(1, N = 165) = 19.701, p = .000$), Negative Emotions ($X^2(1, N = 165) = 4.156, p = .045$) and presence of Colour ($X^2(1, N = 165) = 7.274, p = .007$). Context and Culture were more preponderant among Italians (respectively $X^2(1, N = 165) = 5.998, p = .021$ and $X^2(1, N = 165) = 12.724, p = .001$), as well as PositiveEmotions ($X^2(1, N = 165) = 13.141, p = .000$). Even when collapsed under the umbrellas of external vs. internal factors, participants from the two countries differ significantly. Both External Factors ($X^2(1, N = 165) = 12.223, p = .001$) and Psychological Factors ($X^2(1, N = 165) = 4.156, p = .045$) were more often included in the Italian drawings counting for more than 90% while in the Russian sample, still important, they cover just the 60%.

In the **“Discussion”** paragraph, it was reported how one fourth of the respondents did not include any distinctive feature in their immigrant's representation. It might be argued that the students decided that the similarities overcame the differences and, thus, the anticipation was exempt from other strings. Further, the psychological elements are represented twice as often as the external factors, but while the relevance of the emotional status is equally recognised across the sample, its quality is expressed differently among Russians and Italians. The patterns among them are reversed, with a highest frequency in the positive range within the Italian pupils and in the negative range within Russians.

MAIN CONCLUSIONS ON THE RESULTS OF THE STUDY

The values of Self-Transcendence positively related to the migrants' integration acculturation expectation of teachers. Values of Openness to change did not have a significant positive relationship with acculturation expectations.

The mediating role of the teachers' tolerance is revealed, suggesting a broader relationship between values and acculturation expectations. Even those values that did not have a direct impact on the acculturation expectation of integration (for example, the values of Openness to change) were largely associated with them through tolerance. Attitudes to tolerance reinforced the positive relationship between the values of Openness to change and Self-Transcendence with acculturation attitudes to the integration of migrants.

The results showed that prosocial and disciplinary attitudes being introduced through oral instructions from teachers were associated with a favorable attitude to the newcomer-migrant, but the influence of prosocial attitudes was stronger than disciplinary ones. The study of perceived cultural distance of the individual child with his group of friends (in-group) and between the two groups (their group and outgroup of newcomer migrant) showed that intergroup distance was the same in Russia and Italy. Closer distance with outgroup contributed to a positive perception of the newcomer- migrant as well as their group in both countries.

Ingroup identification of children in both Italy and Russia contributed to a positive attitude towards the newcomer migrant group, but only in Italy the identification with one's own group did reduce the stigma of the newcomer migrant group.

The results showed that when creating a visual image of a migrant peer, the children of the receiving society are guided by psychological factors. Both in Italy and in Russia, the significance of the emotional factor in the image of a migrant peer was revealed. However, in Italy, students pay more attention to the manifestation of positive characteristics, in Russia – to the manifestation of negative characteristics.

Additionally, differences in value and acculturation preferences related to the professional role in educational institutions, the level and scope of competence were identified. These aspects are not of primary importance, but they indicate an insufficient consideration of vocational training as a factor of positive changes of intercultural relations in school settings.

The work was done in the Department of Psychology of the Federal State Autonomous Educational Institution of Higher Education “National Research University Higher School of Economics”.

The main provisions of the study are reflected in the publications of the author:

- Jones, S.E., Bombieri, L., Livingstone, A.G., Manstead, A.S.R. The Influence of Norms and Social Identities on Children's Responses to Bullying. // *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 2012. 82(2). P. 241-256.
- Bombieri, L., Galyapina, V., & Bushina, E. Teachers' Effectiveness at Changing Pupils' Attitudes towards Migrants: A Field Study in Italy and Russia. // *Psychology. Journal of Higher School of Economics*. 2019. Vol. 16(2). P. 285-301.
- Лебедева Н. М., Бомбиери Л., Галяпина В. Н. Влияние просоциальных установок учителей на отношение учащихся к мигрантам в Италии и России // *Общественные науки и современность* 2019. Выпуск 5. С. 142-155.
- Bombieri, L. I like them, because my teacher told me so! Teachers' instructions and empathy to improve attitudes towards immigrants at school. // *Elementary Education Online*. 2020. Accepted for publication.

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