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ARTICLE



Ideologies of Intergroup Relations in Pedagogical Discourse: Representation of Cultures and Intercultural Interaction in the Educational Books for Migrant Children

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ABSTRACT

Viewing a textbook as a tool of construction of framework for interpretation of social environment, we focus on the content of Russian school books for children of migrants. Within the framework of the theories of intergroup ideologies and Stereotype content model, we evaluate the character of representation of different cultures and their representatives in various social contexts. The results show that the receiving population occupies “high warmth and high efficacy”, while migrants occupy “high warmth and low efficacy” quadrant, and a difference in the representation of migrants: children are included in communication with the receiving population, whereas adults are isolated.

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Introduction

School, acting as “the primary institutional means of reproduction of the community” (Hunter, 1991, p. 198), through upbringing of youth, establishes the whole social order, forms a common understanding of collective identity and purpose. A textbook appears as a variety of canon demonstration: ideas and practices recognized by pedagogical and governing communities as exemplary. Detection and analysis of the methods of construction and representation of normative models, in an educational book, becomes a kind of an “entry” into the field of research of socio-cultural values and norms.

Diversity and complexity of modern society is reflected in the curriculum and educational books. On the one hand, they contain resources for reflection of growing freedom and equality. On the other hand, there is a “common core” of the school curriculum, which is necessary in order to overcome the effect that differentiates us on the ground of race, faith, ethnicity and social class and forms common goals (Ravitch, 1990). A search for balance between reflection of cultural diversity and construction of an entity, in an attempt to cope with cultural pluralism, presents one of the key problems in the design of curricula and corresponding educational literature in modern polycultural societies.

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Moreover, in each historic period, a choice of strategy of diversity control presents a practice ingrained in the system of value orientations and moral norms, which decides “not only the question of how to teach in our schools, but also the question of what kind of society do we want to live in: pluralistic or conformist, humane or intolerant?” (Crawford, 1991, p. 13).

The necessity of construction of relatively stable cognitive framework for the interpretation of social environment by new generations, sets before the authors of educational books, a task of reflection of conventional belief system regarding structural organization and functioning of society, i.e. ideology of intergroup relations, through comprehension to suitable ages illustrative and text material.

The modern theory of intergroup relations distinguishes four ideological types, drawing on social categorization principles that form the basis of each of them (Grigoryev et al., 2018; Guimond et al., 2014). For instance, the first ideology, assimilationism, implies a presence of a culturally and, most commonly, politically dominating cultural group in a society, which should become an indisputable cultural guideline for ethnic minorities. The latter are prompted to acquire values, norms and practices, proposed by the dominating culture and substitute them for the respective values and practices of the membership culture. While assimilation is based on recategorization, that replaces the variety of socio-cultural entities with the only “right” one, the second ideology – ethnic colourblindness – based on decategorisation, which suggests that intergroup relations can be improved, by means of disregard of differences between the groups. The ideology of multiculturalism, on the contrary, “restores” social categories and recognizes differences between ethnic groups without disputing the multiplicity of different groups and identities, and is supposed to retain this variety. Finally, the ideology of polyculturalism implies the presence of close connection between all the ethnic groups in one society and attaches less significance to the boundaries between them, i.e. without denying the categorical nature of social cognition, it focuses not on markers of group membership, boundaries and identities, but on the interaction of cultures (Guimond et al., 2014; Pedersen et al., 2015; Rattan & Ambady, 2013; Rosenthal & Levy, 2012).

The above-described ideologies are based on the established views and emotional evaluations of the representatives of one’s own and other groups, as well as intergroup interaction itself (Grigoryev et al., 2018), which actualizes the necessity to research mechanisms of formation and, directly, detailed content of group stereotypes and attitudes towards intergroup interaction.

Following the aim of the analysis of the social categorization system, determined by the pedagogical community and expecting capability of the school, including educational books, to construct cognitive representations, emotional evaluations and behavioural patterns, we turn to the content analysis of the educational books. We focus on the educational books intended for the children of the representatives of ethnocultural minorities, such as migrants and displaced persons. It is these books that become the receiving society’s first and main channel of communication of normative regulations to children of migrants that refer to the children’s perception of themselves, culture of exodus and receiving society.

Moral Aspects of Social categorization. Stereotype Content Model (SCM)

The theoretical framework of the research is comprised of Stereotype content model (SCM) that registers key changes, within which individuals or groups organize the understanding of social reality. It is “perceived warmth (morality and sociability) and competence (ability and assertiveness), which reflect two general questions about others: ‘Do they intend to help or harm me (i.e., they are friend or foe); and are they capable of it?’ ” (Fiske, 2018). SCM proved its reliability in different cultures and contexts (Cuddy et al., 2008, 2009; Fiske & Durante, 2016), as well as its heuristicity, when applied as a theoretical framework for analysis of public discourse: for instance, content analysis of century-old Italian fascist magazines detected differences in warmth and competence (Durante et al., 2010).

We suppose that evaluation of the content of stereotypes, regarding representatives of some or other social categories, may not only become the basis for the prediction of individual attitudes and behaviour (in our case, of representatives of the receiving society, in relation to migrant workers and members of their families), but also determine social policy prospects. Our supposition is based on the results of the empirical research of connection between social categorization and emotional evaluations (Cuddy et al., 2007). For instance, S. Fiske, presenting Warmth × Competence space, describes opposite types of group stereotypes: Society’s defaults – reference groups (high in both warmth and competence), which include representatives of the dominant middle class population, and the lowest-of-the-low (untrustworthy and incompetent): the homeless, refugees, undocumented migrants, drug addicts, and nomads, as well as two intermediate types: groups seen as warm but incompetent, including older people and people with disabilities, as well as young children, and groups stereotyped as cold but competent, which is the opposite kind of ambivalence, including rich people, businesspeople, and technical experts (Fiske, 2018, p. 2).

It is important that categorization of social “objects” implies a certain emotional attitude towards them: for instance, in relation to the category that is highly evaluated by the parameters of warmth and competence, people feel pride and admiration, in relation to those who are lowly evaluated by both parameters – disgust and contempt. In relation to the categories that are lowly evaluated by the parameter of warmth but highly evaluated by the parameter of competence – envy, while, to those who are highly evaluated by the parameter of warmth and lowly evaluated by the parameter of competence – pity or sympathy. All the above listed emotions refer to moral emotions (Tangney et al., 2007), which means that they form a cultural basis of social policy, established on “feeling rules” (Hochschild, 1979). Therefore, through drawing on moral dimension classification systems, we strengthen codes of desirable and undesirable behaviour, institutionalizing behaviour practices and perception patterns. A community needs to differentiate between “bad” and “good”: on the basis of this specific categorization, common views and evaluations are developed that form community cohesion and are realized in the widest range of consequences: from collective identities to economical behaviour patterns (Douglas, 1966).

A school textbook, along with mass media, determines what is worth being “seen” and how it should be correctly perceived, and what should remain unnoticed for aesthetic, political and social reasons. Therefore, the constructed “mode of vision” imposes a certain point of view, rules of depiction and perception of social categories,

consequently, the issues of representation of ethnocultural minorities in a school textbook, form moral grounds for acceptance of one or other social policy by new generations.

Migrants in Russia

According to the UN estimates, Russia is in the fourth place among the countries that accept migrants. In 2019, the number of international migrants in Russia was 12 mln. 149,095 of them are children aged 5 to 9, i.e. senior preschoolers or primary schoolers (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs. Population Division, 2019). In contrast to the migration of 1990s, when the main flow of migrants consisted of Russian-speaking populations of the former USSR republics, since 2000s, among migrants prevail non-Russian-speaking natives of small towns and villages (Demintseva, 2018). Over the last two decades, the mundane view of a migrant transformed, so that now, only people with low social status are referred to in this category instead of any person that arrives in the country (Abashin, 2012).

The recent research within the SCM logic that was conducted on the Russian sample, within the scope of which we analysed the views of majority on sixty ethnocultural groups (both native and of migrant origin), demonstrated that the overwhelming majority of native minorities, as well as the representatives of East European cultural groups, are evaluated by the majority as “of average warmth” and “of average competence”. The migrants of non-Slavic origin from Europe, North America and Far Eastern countries were placed in the quadrant “high competence + low warmth”, while migrants from both post-Soviet countries and North Caucasus republics were placed in the quadrant “low competence + low warmth”. Only the representatives of the Russian majority, themselves, and migrants from Belarus, are perceived as warm and highly competent (Grigoryev et al., 2019). Taking into consideration the above-described connection between cognitive and emotional content of stereotypes, on the one hand, and concepts of social justice and social policy measures corresponding to them, on the other hand, we can view the images of majority and minority constructed by an educational book as ideal categories that structure social life by means of both instrumental and symbolic roles performed by them (see Douglas, 1966).

State education in Russia was always a project within the scope of diversity control: during the empire, Soviet- and post-Soviet- period, alike, schools implemented and kept implementing various strategies of diversity control, reflecting society’s aims, values and norms that prevailed during a certain period. A view of the school textbook, as a reflection and communicator of these norms, was supported by Russian researchers over the last few years (Bezrogov & Markarova, 2014).

Research Organization and Methods

Paragraph: use this for the first paragraph in a section, or to continue after an extract. We will focus on the representations of different cultures and their representatives (children and adults, male and female), in different social contexts (home environment, public spaces, including school, professional environments) with the emphasis on situations of interaction between them in educational literature. The specified criteria of social

categorization suggest, in particular, documentation of socio-cultural and personality characteristics ascribed to the representatives of different cultures, as well as evaluation of frequency, intensity and quality of interaction. For evaluation of warmth, the following parameters were used: personality characteristics of interacting subjects (sincerity, reliability, warmth, affection), emotional state of partners in interaction at different stages of contact, satisfaction with interaction; for competence evaluation: field of work, prestige, material and economic well-being, equality/inequality of status and contributions of interacting subjects, presence/absence of discrimination by one or both parties.

The source base of the research consisted of a set of textbooks (1–4 grades) *Literaturnoe chtenie dlya detej migrantov i pereselencev (Literary Reading for Children of Migrants and Displaced Persons)* published by Prosveshcheniye Publishing House (2018–19)¹. The course of Literary Reading is chosen because, on the one hand, it is the most complete representation of “canon”, i.e. the socially desirable examples of perception and behaviour, and which, on the other hand, is of a latent nature, due to the fact that the didactic materials are focused on the development of children’s skills of the formation of words from letters. See the attachment for the list of textbooks.

The quantification of texts and illustrative materials of textbooks was conducted without the use of specialized software, but with the application of a target code list, constructed on the basis of research tasks. As units of meaning and accounting, topics of separate text fragments (exercises and short stories) and visual images (pictures), included in a textbook, were used (Table 1). This indicator is necessary for the determination of the spreading of texts, exercises and illustrations, that address the representation of different cultures, their representatives and intergroup interaction in the total amount of data. Only the frequency of the characteristic was measured; the spatial dimension, consisting of the message size was not applied.

Qualitative interpretation of the works was additionally used; in particular, illustration of qualitative results, with fragments from texts and visual images.

First of all, it should be noted that the presence of culture-specific elements, different from dominating culture, decreases from grade to grade in the literary reading textbooks for children of migrants and displaced persons. Simultaneously, representativity of the dominating society increases, both due to a decrease of the representativity of minorities’ cultures and due to multiculturalism, which is especially noticeable in the illustrative content: while in the *Alphabet Book*, and the textbook for the 1st grade, interaction of children representing different ethno-cultural entities, was found in 61% of texts

Table 1. Total amount of reviewed texts and illustrations in teaching materials for children of migrants and displaced persons.

| | Total number of texts | Total number of illustrations |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| Alphabet Book | 120 (67) | 156 (100) |
| Literary Reading. 1 grade | 225 (43) | 78 (12) |
| Literary Reading. 2 grade | 216 (45) | 70 (16) |
| Literary Reading. 3 grade | 158 (19) | 51 (21) |
| Literary Reading. 4 grade | 147 (26) | 47 (8) |

Note: The number of texts and illustrations, that address the topics relevant to our goals, i.e. directly included in the analysis, is shown in brackets. However, further representation of one or other category (percentage share), will be calculated from the total number of texts, because the number of those that are included in the analysis is, in some cases, not sufficient for calculation of the percentage share. Regarding illustrations, we will use absolute values.

included in the analysis and 29% of illustrations; in the textbook for the 2nd grade – in 36% of texts and 25% of illustrations; in the textbook for the 3rd grade – in 16% of texts and 5% of illustrations; and by the 4th grade, representation of intergroup interaction pattern, through visual content, disappears from the textbook completely and remains only in three text fragments. These are the tasks where a student is supposed to select, in the folkloric material of the exodus culture, proverbs or tales that are similar in meaning, i.e. convey the same values as the Russian proverbs or tales included in the textbook. Needless to say, by the 4th grade, the share of the tasks that require from a student, self-reflection and independent analysis of the texts and meanings, ingrained in them, increases, however, this fact clearly demonstrates a tendency to remove the exodus culture from the “canonical” sphere, i.e. compulsory for all examples of perception and behaviour, to the private, concealed sphere, that does not possess general significance.

Paragraph: use this for the first paragraph in a section, or to continue after an extract. We will review, separately, the content of the *Alphabet Book*, the very first that is given to a child who begins their school education in Russia, presenting it as the most relevant, filled with material for our goals.

“Gates to dialogue”: representation of the receiving society and the migrants in the *Alphabet Book* for children of migrants and displaced persons

The contexts of intergroup interaction, status positions of the representatives of the receiving population and migrants, represented in the *Alphabet Book* (Table 2).

According to the results shown in Table 2, the receiving population is represented to a greater extent, which is natural, because it reflects the social and cultural situation, in which the children of migrants find themselves, after arrival in a new country. However, in a private space – at home – migrant families can be found twice as frequently, both in the text and illustrative material, which represents greater rootedness and connection to the family of migrant children, as viewed by the textbook authors. In such a case, the children of migrants in the private sphere are presented as active process participants who perform functions significant for a family:

*Inara came home from school. Mother said,
“Inara, wash your hands and play with the little ones.”
Inara played with her sister Farida and brother Musa.
“Children, put away your toys and wash your hands,” said mother.
Children ate the dinner.
“Inara, wash the dishes, please,” asked mother.
“Okay, Mom.”*

Table 2. Total amount of reviewed texts and illustrations in teaching materials for children of migrants and displaced persons.

| Categories | | Representation of migrants | | Representation of receiving population | |
|------------|---|----------------------------|---------------|--|---------------|
| | | Text | Illustrations | Text | Illustrations |
| Family | In public space | 0 | 3/2 | 0 | 3/2 |
| | In private space | 7/6 | 9/6 | 3/2.5 | 6/4 |
| Adults | Isolated | 1/1 | 12/8 | 0 | 7/11 |
| | In interaction with representatives of other cultures | 0 | 1/0.6 | 0 | 0 |
| Children | In culturally homogeneous groups | 7/6 | 8/5 | 7/6 | 24/15 |
| | In interaction with representatives of other cultures | 15/12.5 | 14/9 | 15/12.5 | 14/9 |

“Thank you, Inara.” (p. 99).

In the public space – yard, school, places for leisure activities – child representatives of the receiving population are much more frequently presented as part of culturally homogeneous groups, whereas the children of migrants – as part of mixed groups, which reflect a conveyed pattern of inclusion of migrant children in interaction with the receiving population. Children of migrants are shown in different forms of interaction with the representatives of the receiving population (children), and actively explore public spaces (school, for majority of situations, as well as circus, zoo, places for sports activities, hobby clubs, informal interaction in the yard). By the way, it should be noted that images of actively interacting children from different cultures appear not from the first chapters of the Alphabet Book, but from the two-thirds of the textbook: on the first pages, children of migrants are shown among their families (in a home space), or peers, who are also representatives of their own culture (p. 7). This is how the Alphabet Book demonstrates the pattern of inclusion, in interaction with the representatives of the receiving society, in the course of acquisition of the language and cultural norms of communication.

As for the status of interacting subjects, children in all the contexts are represented as equal subjects: students of the same class, users of the same services, where the services are provided according to direct and evident rules (for example, in turns), members of the same sports or hobby club, who have an equal access to resources (for example, sports equipment) and similar results:

In our class there are Nina and Zhenia, Ayaz and Yusuf, Lora and Lyova. They are kind and cheerful fellows. Nina, Lora and Zhenia are friends. They do homework, play and sing in a choir together. Ayaz, Lyova and Yusuf are buddies. Together they attend a do-it-yourself club. There they whittle and saw. There are friendly fellows in our class! (p. 114)

Representation of personality characteristics of interaction subjects corresponds to the representation of status characteristics (Table 3).

Table 3 shows us that the children from ethno-cultural minorities are represented in the Alphabet Book as equally effective (*We read words. Vitya, Firuza, Tamara and Denis received grades “four” and “five” (p. 115)*) and even as a little bit more active (care parameter) in comparison with the children that belong to the majority:

In the meadow there were Galina, Zina and Nina. They played. There were geese. They scared Nina. Nina is little.

“Ouch! Leg!”

Table 3. Representation of personality characteristics of interaction participants (absolute value/% of the total number of texts or illustrations).

| Characteristics | Majority | | Minorities | |
|---|----------|---------------|------------|---------------|
| | texts | illustrations | texts | illustrations |
| Incomprehensive, dependent, in need of help | | | | 1/0,6 |
| Effective | 4/3 | 9/6 | 5/4 | 11/7 |
| Responsive, kind | 2/1,6 | 2/1,3 | 2/1,6 | 2/1,3 |
| Caring | 2/1,6 | 5/3 | 4/3 | 10/6 |
| Strong/Powerful | 2/1,6 | 2/1,3 | | 1/0,6 |
| Stern | | | | |

*Galim chased the geese away.
Nina is glad. She said:
“Thank you, Galim!” (p. 74).*

The *Alphabet Book* also contains a questionable fragment that represents the social significance of an adult representative of the ethno-cultural minority (p. 61): the illustration depicts a man wearing a uniform of the municipal utility services (bright orange vest), with anthropologically pronounced, non-membership of the dominating population, who shovels snow. The illustration accompanies the following riddle:

*I walk next to the yard-keeper,
Shovel snow around
And help children
To make a mountain, to build a house².*

The use of the word “help” in the text of the riddle, indicates the recognized benefit of the conducted job operations, nevertheless, it visually strengthens the connection between membership in a minority and work in unskilled labour (low “efficacy”).

In general, the adult representatives of ethno-cultural minorities are represented on the pages of the *Alphabet Book* in a markedly different way, when compared to children. Activity, friendliness, and competence of adult migrants are manifested only in the private space of home or in a public space, but in relation to the members of one’s own family (for instance, in the illustration at the beginning of the textbook, in the section, *We Came to Russia*, some families with mother, father and three children of various ages are shown, where the whole family looks hopefully at the father, who leads the way out of a railway station building, carefully supporting his spouse and the youngest child).

In all the other cases, the adult migrants are shown as completely isolated, excluded from communication with the receiving population. The only exception is depicted in the illustration to the text, *Guests* (p. 88), which describes how children representatives of the different cultures (Shakir, Shota and a girl named Sasha) have a meal at Shakir’s place. The illustration that accompanies the text shows the hostess, Shakir’s mother, in a brightly coloured *khalat* (dressing gown and headscarf), serving food. This image, as we repeat again, is the only one that represents the adult migrant in interaction with someone outside of their cultural group or family. No case of communication with the adult representatives of the receiving society is shown in the course of representation of the adult migrants (even with a schoolteacher, which would be natural and find substantiation in the child’s experience). Even representation, for example, of the migrant women, performing their professional duties, that suggest communication with people (salesperson, cashier, waitress), is performed with the use of illustrations, where the heroine is wearing a uniform and surrounded by the objects that indicate her professional role, but does not interact with direct consumers of the provided services (p. 10). The migrant men also work alone or in the company of other migrants (p. 11, 61) on a construction site, as drivers or yard-keepers. For comparison: the representatives of the receiving population, in the same professional positions – for example, salesperson – are shown while servicing customers, interacting with other persons (pp. 22, 23).

It should also be noted that professional spheres (being the only form of migrant’s public activity in the representation of the textbook) include only low-skilled service

labour, whereas all the other professions that require special skills (doctor, pedagogue) and/or implementation of administration functions (policeman, principal, teacher) are given to the representatives of the receiving population, who are identified by the reader by their facial features and clothing (on illustrations) or by names (in texts).

Let us review the content of the *Literary Reading* textbooks and attempt to trace the succession and transformation of the patterns of minorities and majority perception communicated by the *Alphabet Book*.

“Dialogue of cultures in the monologue of the dominating group”: ideologies of intergroup interaction in the Literary Reading textbooks

Categories that were detected in the course of analysis of the content of the textbooks *Literary Reading for Children of Migrants and Displaced Persons* are displayed in [Table 4](#).

According to the data shown in [Table 4](#), the pattern of the representation of minorities and the majority, changes in comparison with the *Alphabet Book*: the representatives of ethno-cultural minorities are represented as more dependent and in need of help, while representatives of majority, respectively, as more caring. Nevertheless, the representatives of the minorities are depicted as just as responsive, kind and friendly as the representatives of the majority. Therefore, in the matrix of stereotypical perception and expectations, the receiving population apparently occupies the “high warmth and high efficacy” quadrant, while the migrants occupy the “high warmth and low efficacy”, which naturally suggests emotions of sympathy (pity), prescribed in relation to the migrants.

As for acculturation models, suggested by the textbook, the results shown in [Table 4](#) demonstrate an obvious difference in the representation of the children and adult representatives of ethno-cultural minorities that follow the logic of the *Alphabet Book*: children are included in communication with the receiving population, and adults are isolated. However, this data is not sufficient in order to draw a conclusion about the acculturation strategies recommended by the textbook. Let us review the representation of the cultures and intercultural interaction in detail, on the basis of the texts and illustrations included in the textbook.

Table 4. Representation (by grades) of the categories that represent personality and social characteristics of the minorities and receiving population in the textbook of literary reading for children of migrants and displaced persons (absolute values for each grade are given).

| Characteristics | Majority | | Minorities | |
|---|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| | texts | illustrations | texts | illustrations |
| Personality characteristics | | | | |
| Personality characteristics: Incomprehensive, dependent, in need of help | 2 + 1 + 1 + 0 | 0 + 0 + 0 + 0 | 7 + 3 + 0 + 0 | 2 + 0 + 0 + 0 |
| Effective | 3 + 5 + 5 + 0 | 3 + 1 + 4 + 0 | 4 + 6 + 2 + 0 | 2 + 2 + 2 + 0 |
| Responsive, kind | 4 + 0 + 0 + 0 | 0 + 0 + 0 + 0 | 7 + 4 + 1 + 0 | 1 + 1 + 1 + 0 |
| Caring | 7 + 4 + 0 + 0 | 0 + 1 + 0 + 0 | 3 + 1 + 0 + 0 | 2 + 1 + 1 + 0 |
| Strong/powerful | 4 + 6 + 2 + 0 | 1 + 0 + 0 + 0 | 0 + 3 + 0 + 0 | 0 + 0 + 0 + 0 |
| Stern | 1 + 1 + 3 + 0 | 1 + 0 + 2 + 0 | 0 + 1 + 0 + 0 | 0 + 0 + 0 + 0 |
| Social aspects: Representation of family in private space | 1 + 3 + 1 + 0 | 1 + 2 + 1 + 0 | 0 + 5 + 0 + 0 | 2 + 1 + 0 + 0 |
| Representation of family in public space | 2 + 2 + 1 + 0 | 0 + 2 + 3 + 0 | 2 + 0 + 0 + 0 | 0 + 0 + 0 + 0 |
| Children in communication with representatives of other cultures | 5 + 2 + 1 + 0 | 5 + 3 + 1 + 0 | Same | Same |
| Adults in communication with representatives of other cultures | 0 + 0 + 0 + 0 | 0 + 0 + 0 + 0 | Same | Same |

The first section of the literary reading textbook for the 1st grade, *Country where we live*, creates a certain confusion of concepts: Motherland, country of residence, Russia. The entry poem of the section, *What we call Motherland* (V. Stepanov) (p. 5) represents Russia at a micro-level (“*Home where you and I live, And birch trees, along which, next to mother, we walk*”) and at a macro-level (“*And under a blue, blue sky Russian flag above the Kremlin*”). The next text – *Country where we live* (extract from the work by S. Baruzdin) (pp. 6–9) “narrows down” Russia to Moscow, because the characters’ idea “to see Russia” is realized (in the fragment included in the textbook) by viewing of Moscow from the airplane window, which is represented as the main city of the world (“*Moscow is the main city of the country,*” said I. “*The very main?*” asked Dimka. “*All over the earth?*” “*I suppose, all over the earth,*” said I. (p. 9)). And a small text by K. Ushinsky, where it is stated that “*a human has one mother, one Motherland*” (p. 10), closes this introductory triad. Thus, a specific frame of perception of the textbook content is set.

Further on, there are three similar texts that emphasize the significance of the exodus culture: An Armenian folk song, about home, that includes an apparent evaluative and normative component (“*How can I like the One who forgot his home? The old home in the native country*” (p. 11)), poem by A. Igebaev, about a starling, who is waiting for him, in the home country (“*Native country is the dearest!*” (p. 13)) and a tale about starlings flying away (“*Are there the same little houses in the warm countries?*” “*No, my chick. Your native nest is one and only in the whole wide world. Say farewell to it.*” “*Farewell, house!*” said Young Starling. “*Or rather see you later!*” corrected his mother. “*Why?*” “*Because we will come back here. Here is your native land.*” (pp. 14–15)).

The metaphor of “migratory birds”, which is frequently used for marking migrants in general and children in particular, forms a certain discursive space and adds the following elements to the focus of representation of migrant children and the receiving society: a) inconstancy of residence of migrants on the territory of the Russian Federation, reversibility of migration, b) the forced nature of displacement of students’ families. To some extent, such understanding, qualitatively, predetermines the objective of the provided education, i.e. to give sufficient knowledge of the culture and Russian language, for subsequent education in comprehensive school, but with taking into account their possible return to the exodus country.

The textbooks for higher grades depict a little bit more consolidated image of the Motherland, acknowledging the treatment of Russia, as “their own” space, for the migrant children.

For instance, the textbook for the 2nd grade begins with the section *I live in Russia*. The entry illustration of the section completely reflects its content: in it, in collage format, one can see various natural and climatic zones (mountains, river, mixed forest), as well as different types of buildings (modern high-rise buildings, prefabricated nine-storey apartment buildings, rural type houses), also including buildings for religious purposes (mosques and orthodox churches). The same, basically collage-style, can be found in the texts included in the section that are intended to develop the idea specified as a kind of epigraph to the section: “*Russia is our common home, Where we all together live in friendship! Z. Petrova*” (p. 7). Description of historical trivia and beauties of the city is followed by a story about the Volga, with a citation of ethnocultural groups who inhabit the Volga Region (“*The Volga Region is a native land for many nations. On the shores of the Volga live Russians, Chuvash, Tatars, Mari, on the Volga tributaries live Bashkirs,*

Mordvins, Udmurts. In the Lower Volga region live Kalmyks" (p. 15)). Further on, on the textbook page, one can see Caucasus, Ural, Siberia, coast of the Arctic Ocean.

The section is finished by E. Ilyin's poem that normalizes intercultural interaction:

*Since childhood we are accustomed to see
How different-looking people
Live together in harmony
Without quarrels and grudges.
In every kindergarten there are so much
Different faces and eyes:
Freckle-faced Vasya
Has got a very tawny-skinned friend Murtaz,
Black-haired Khalida
Is inseparable from light-haired Galya:
In the classroom and in the gym
The girls are always together.
And of course, not accidentally
Yan, Rasul, Olesya, Ayna
Together with Milda and Fatima
Walk home side by side.
We all strongly believe in friendship,
We are all close friends. (p. 28)*

In one way or another, in the course of representation of cultural specifics in everyday life (clothing, homeware, toys, cuisine), folklore (tales), in occupations, and, of course, in language, the authors of the textbooks attempt to maintain the principle of equality: culture of the receiving population in direct comparison with migrant cultures is presented in its traditional embodiment, through the example of decorative and applied arts, traditional costumes and folk tales. The educational book finds a basis for integration of different cultures in Russian language and state symbols of the Russian Federation, as well as in the positive attitudes of the representatives of different cultures, towards each other and the fact of intergroup interaction:

Many nations live in Russia. Each nation has its own language, its own customs. How to live in friendship? We need to understand each other. That is why we learn Russian. Love and protect your native language. Also, know Russian well (Alphabet Book, p. 124).

For instance, the following verses are given in the Literary Reading textbooks for 1–3 grades, accompanied by illustrative material that depicts children who, judging by clothing items and anthropological features that belong to different cultures, are, as a rule, compositionally gathered in a circle dance, which, in this case, serves in both its direct play-based and symbolic significance:

*... Let us join hands and
Form a circle.
Each man to man is a friend.
Let us join hands and
May the huge circle
Walk the Earth.
S. Furin (Literary Reading, 2 grade, p. 192)*

Conclusion. Ideologies of Intergroup Interaction in Pedagogical Discourse

Thus, the analysis of the content of the *Alphabet Book* and the *Literary Reading* textbooks, intended for the teaching of children of migrants and displaced persons, allows us to document the following key features of the receiving population representatives' – ethnocultural majority's – image of cultures and intercultural interaction.

Firstly, intercultural differences are recognized and clearly indicated, although they are mainly marked in the sphere of folklore and culture of everyday life, without addressing value and normative aspects. The conducted analysis does not provide an opportunity to explain, definitively, the disregard of value differences: it can be due to either insensitivity (ethnocultural colour blindness) or to an estimation of age features of students and, corresponding to this estimation, the orientation to sense experience in combination with the concept of untimeliness of discussion of value and symbolic aspects of cultures.

The representatives of ethnocultural minorities are depicted in the educational book as friendly, responsive (high “warmth”), however, they are less efficient in comparison with the representatives of the majority (do not occupy significant positions in the modern society, perform low-skilled labour), which is strengthened in the course of proceeding to senior grades. This norm of self-attitude prescribed to migrant children by the pedagogical community at first sight contradicts the prevalent attitude towards migrants in Russian society (see Grigoryev et al., 2019). However, according to the results obtained by us, due to minimized “visibility” of adult migrants in the textbook, the recommended norms are relaxed and appear to be quite characteristic for children with a stereotyped attitude and people with special needs (Fiske, 2018). According to SCM, “high warmth and low efficacy”, ascribed to the representatives of ethnocultural minorities (that is, to migrant children), suggest emotions of sympathy (pity), and paternalism in behavioural attitudes. Paternalistic attitudes together with the representation of power of the receiving population, which naturally occupies the quadrant “high warmth and high efficacy”, can serve as an instrument of guardianship over “dependent” object, and even of pressure, the initial aspect of which becomes the withdrawal of subjectivity from the object of the guardianship, i.e. freedom of choice, that is completely transferred to the guardian. The ward is only provided with the right to feel gratitude. This pattern is evidently conveyed as a normative framework of self-attitude of migrant children.

Secondly, the receiving society is represented as open and friendly in relation to its new members, who have sufficiently acquired instruments of communication in order to join forms of activity that are typical for the receiving population (“*How to live in friendship? We need to understand each other. That is why we learn Russian.*” (*Alphabet Book*, p. 124)). The acquisition of language of the receiving group is, undoubtedly, an important aspect of the realization of various acculturation strategies, both of assimilation and integration. However, in combination with this, the tendency to exclude from communication the adult representatives of ethnocultural minorities, the requirement of the acquisition of the language and culture of the receiving population, with numerous confirmations of it in the text and illustrative materials, attest to the domination of assimilationist ideology in the interpretation of cultural differences and the evaluation of the process and results of intercultural communication, by the receiving population in general, and government agencies in particular (we assume that an educational book communicates the “official” position, or canon). In such a case, exclusion of the adult

representatives of ethnocultural minorities from communication, deprivation of voice as a possibility to state and protect their interests, in particular, in matters of upbringing and education of their children, apparently minimizes the probability of strengthening and distribution of multicultural and polycultural ideologies.

Therefore, taking into consideration the role of school and educational books in the construction of a child's identity and system of behavioural patterns, we see a manifestation of a set of assimilationist mechanisms in the above described combination of techniques. Due to the fact that it is in school, where a child gets closer, or becomes estranged from their parents' beliefs, adopts concepts of due and right that correspond to or contradict with those that are communicated at home, representation of adults as unwanted, deprived of voice and excluded from communication in general, together with the range of opportunities emerging before a child, if they acquire the language and culture of the receiving population, provides migrant children with virtually a single option. . . The obtained results demonstrate the necessity of rethinking of the content of school textbooks and inclusion of the materials that facilitate an escape from paternalism and a more complete representation of multicultural and polycultural ideologies in them.

Notes

1. The package of materials received expert approvals, according to the results of a scientific report by RAE (Russian Academy of Education) #24-н dated 29.01.2017), pedagogical (report by RAE #439 dated 29.01.2017) and public (report by RBU (Russian Book Union) #808 dated 07.02.2014) expert reviews.
2. In general, it seems that riddles are the less thought through type of texts. For instance, inclusion of the following riddle in the Alphabet Book: "*It sits goggle-eyed, /Doesn't speak Russian, /Was born in water, /But lives on earth*" (p. 130) can hardly be considered deliberate likening of non-Russian speaking people to frogs, most likely the authors, while focusing on the answer to the riddle, overlooked the content of the riddle itself.

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AttachmentList of analyzed textbooks

- Aznabaeva, F. F., Artemenko, O. I., Skorospelkina, G. S., & Orlova, T. N. *Azbuka. 1 klass. Uchebnik dlya detej migrantov i pereselencev (Alphabet Book. 1 grade. Textbook for children of migrants and displaced persons.)*. Prosveshcheniye, 2019.
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