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# ▶ To cite this version:

N. Souchon, G. Kermarec, D. Trouilloud, B. Bardin. Influence of teachers' political orientation and values on their success prediction toward students from different socioeconomic background. European Review of Applied Psychology / Revue Européenne de Psychologie Appliquée, 2020, 70, pp.100553 -. 10.1016/j.erap.2020.100553 . hal-03493165

HAL Id: hal-03493165

https://hal.science/hal-03493165

Submitted on 21 Nov 2022

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#### RUNNING HEAD: VALEURS HUMAINES ET PREDICTION DE REUSSITE

Influence de l'Orientation Politique et des Valeurs des Enseignants sur leurs Prédictions de Réussites d'Elèves issus de Différents Milieux Sociaux

Influence of Teachers' Political Orientation and Values on Their Success Prediction Toward

Students From Different Socioeconomic Background

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1	Resume
2	Introduction. Les enseignants tendent à développer des attentes et des comportements
3	négatifs à l'égard des élèves venant de milieux sociaux économiques défavorisés.
4	Objectif. L'objectif de cette étude était de tester l'influence de l'orientation politique des
5	enseignants, ainsi que de leur attachement aux valeurs de pouvoir et d'universalisme, sur leurs
6	prédictions de réussite au bac et post-bac d'élèves de seconde en fonction de leur milieu
7	social.
8	<b>Méthode</b> . 88 enseignants ( $M_{\rm \hat{a}ge}$ =38.04 ans ; 44.3% d'hommes) de Lycée ont répondu à un
9	questionnaire d'idéologie politique et de valeurs, ainsi qu'à un questionnaire permettant
10	d'évaluer leurs prédictions de réussite de Lycéens masculins de seconde venant de différents
11	milieux sociaux.
12	Résultats. Les enseignants ont prédit un meilleur avenir académique aux élèves venant d'un
13	milieu social élevé. Bien que les effets soient relativement faibles, l'orientation politique des
14	enseignants, ainsi que leur attachement aux valeurs de pouvoir et d'universalisme, ont prédit
15	le biais de jugement en faveur des élèves provenant de milieux sociaux favorisés.
16	Conclusion. Prendre en considération l'orientation politique et les valeurs des enseignants
17	permettrait d'approfondir la compréhension des processus par lesquels les enseignants
18	développent des attentes différenciées vis-à-vis de leurs élèves.
19	Mots clés: Orientation Politique, Valeurs Humaines, Attentes, Milieu Social, Education
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1	Abstract
2	Introduction. Teachers tend to develop negative expectations and behaviours towards
3	students coming from low socioeconomic backgrounds.
4	Objective. The objective of this study was to test the influence of teacher political
5	orientation, as well as their attachment to power and universalism values, on their predictions
6	of academic success towards students from different socioeconomic backgrounds.
7	Method. 88 high school teachers (Mage=38.04 years; 44.3% men) responded to a
8	questionnaire of political ideology and values, as well as to a questionnaire evaluating their
9	prediction of success towards male high school students from different socioeconomic
10	backgrounds.
11	Results. Teachers predicted a better academic success for students coming from a high
12	socioeconomic background. Despite relatively small effect size, political ideology, as well as
13	attachment to power and universalism values, predicted the bias of judgment.
14	Conclusion. Taking into consideration teachers' ideology and values would deepen
15	understanding of processes underlying expectations development.
16	Key words: Political Orientation, Human Values, Expectations, Socioeconomic
17	Background, Education
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#### Influence of Teacher Political Orientation and Values on Their Success Prediction

# **Towards Students From Different Socioeconomic Backgrounds**

Teachers perform a cognitively complex knowledge transmission activity (e.g., large class sizes, multiple tasks to be managed in parallel), yet as human beings they have limited information-processing abilities (e.g., Fiske & Taylor, 2013). They do this by more or less consciously developing and using cognitive schemas and/or expectations towards their students (e.g., Good, 1987). Having expectations involves imagining, with varying degrees of accuracy, that a set of actions, events, and behaviours are likely to occur in contact with an individual or a class of individuals (Olson, Roese, & Zanna, 1996). Teacher expectations towards students are likely to have an impact on their own behaviours and, consequently, on their students' motivation, behaviours, and academic trajectory (for a review of work in a school context, see Trouilloud & Sarrazin, 2003).

While school promotes equality and values powerfully guide behaviours (Maio, 2010; Schwartz, 1992), student socioeconomic background stands among the important cues that can influence teacher expectations development (e.g., Darley & Gross, 1983; Tobisch & Dresel, 2017). Although several studies have analysed the impact of teacher values on their work (e.g., Cohen, 2010; Brandes & Crowson, 2009; Tal & Yinon, 2002), no study to our knowledge has been made of how teacher values and political orientations (e.g., Jost, 2006; Maio, Olson, Bernard, & Luke, 2003) could influence their expectations based on student socioeconomic background. The aim of this study was to address this gap in the literature in order to better understand processes by which teachers develop expectations towards their students.

#### **Teacher expectations development**

Beyond student behaviors (e.g., motivation shown) and academic results (e.g.,

Trouilloud & Sarrazin, 2003 for a literature review), the nature and type of information (e.g.,

sex, physical attractiveness, sibling performance, ethnicity) influencing teacher expectations

2 have been studied in different school subjects (e.g., Auwarter & Aruguete, 2008; Chang &

Sue, 2003; Dusek & Joseph, 1983; Levin, Bornholt, & Lennon, 2005; Tobisch & Dresel,

4 2017; Tom, Cooper, McGraw, 1984).

In a context of education democratization and the political will to make education egalitarian, it is not insignificant that numerous studies have analyzed the impact of student socioeconomic background on teacher expectations development (e.g., Baron, Albright, & Malloy, 1995; Darley & Gross, 1983; Van Mattre et al., 2000). These studies highlight that parental occupation (e.g., Baron et al., 1995), first name (e.g., Dusek & Joseph, 1983) and/or children's leisure and extracurricular activities are social markers (e.g., Cooper, Valentine, Lindsay, & Nye, 1999; Van Mattre, Valentine, & Cooper 2000) that may activate specific expectations in teachers. Thus, although three studies did not find effect of student socioeconomic background on teacher expectations (Glock & Krolak-Schwerdt, 2014; Paino & Ranzulli, 2013; Wood, Kaplan, & McLoyd, 2007), the vast majority of studies in the school context confirm that teachers develop lower expectations for students from disadvantaged socioeconomic backgrounds and higher expectations for students from advantaged socioeconomic backgrounds (e.g., Auwarter & Aruguete, 2008; Baron et al., 1995; Darley &

# Student socioeconomic background and teacher expectations

Gross, 1983; Van Mattre et al., 2000).

There is a lot of information that teachers can use as an anchor for developing expectations towards their students. Work on this topic has identified two main sources of information (for a review, see Jussim & Harber, 2005; Trouilloud & Sarrazin, 2003): elements relating to school characteristics (e.g., previous achievement, behaviour in class), but also elements related to their membership in certain social groups (e.g., socioeconomic background, gender) and the stereotypes potentially associated with them. After a few weeks

of teaching, these expectations tend to crystallize and influence how teachers treat students.

2 For example, Rosenthal (1974) has shown that teachers, based on their expectations, (a)

3 modulate their teaching content, (b) give their students more or fewer opportunities to express

themselves, (c) react differently and interpret student performance and behaviour differently,

and (d) create a different social-emotional climate. Overall, studies reveal that a low

6 socioeconomic background leads to lower expectations of academic achievement for students,

and teacher behaviours become more negative (see e.g., Trouilloud & Sarrazin, 2003 for a

review).

Darley and Gross (1983), for example, showed that teachers viewing the same videotape of an 8-year-old child taking a test, but with one group of teachers being told that the child came from a high socioeconomic background, and another group of teachers being told that the child came from a low socioeconomic background. In the first case, teachers rated the child well above grade level and in the second case rated the child below grade level. Auwarter and Aruguete (2008) showed that teachers judged students from a low socioeconomic background as having a less promising academic future than students from a higher socioeconomic background. This relationship between socioeconomic background and academic achievement was even more negative for boys than for girls. More recently in France, Channouf, Mangard, Baudry and Perney (2005) have shown that pupils from a high socioeconomic background were more oriented towards general secondary education than pupils from a low socioeconomic background were more oriented towards vocational secondary education than pupils from a high socioeconomic background.

An interpretation of these results could lead us to believe that teachers would more frequently observe high performance and work and disciplinary behaviours consistent with school expectations among students from a socioeconomically privileged environment and

- would thus develop more favourable expectations of these students (e.g., Bourdieu &
- 2 Passeron, 1964; see Sirin, 2005 for a meta-analysis of studies showing the impact of social
- 3 environment on academic success). However, not all teachers should be equally sensitive to a
- 4 student's social environment, since not all teachers share the same values and political
- 5 orientation.

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#### **Human values**

7 Human values (e.g., equality, friendship) tend to be defined as abstract ideals that are

8 important guiding principles in one's life (Maio, 2010; Schwartz, 1992). Theoretically,

values are classically understood as the conscious expression of physiological, psychological,

and social needs that may remain more unconscious (see Biernat, 1989; McClelland,

Koestner, & Weinberger, 1989; Schwartz, 1992). The most important theoretical advance in

the field of values in the last 30 years has been made by Schwartz (1992). Not only did this

researcher universally identify ten broad categories of values (see Table 1), but he also

organized these categories into a circumplex model showing that different values can be

compatible, incompatible, or unrelated to each other (see Figure 1).

Values which are compatible with each other (e.g., universalism and benevolence) are placed adjacently in the circular structure. Values which are independent of each other (e.g., universalism and conformity) are placed orthogonally n the circular structure. Values which are incompatible with each other (e.g., universalism and power) are placed opposingly in the circular structure. "Self-Enhancement" (power and success) is consequently opposed to "self-transcendence" (universalism and benevolence) and "conservatism" (tradition, conformity and security) is opposed to "openness to change" (stimulation and autonomy). Research has shown that priming a set of values mechanically leads motivationally incompatible values to decrease in importance (e.g., Maio, 2010; Maio, Pakizeh, Cheung, & Rees, 2009; Pakizeh, Gebaueur, & Maio, 2007).

- 1 Human values and political orientation
- Values are strongly associated with self-concept (Maio, Olson, Bernard, & Luke,
- 3 2003), personality (e.g., Bilsky & Schwartz, 1994) and political orientation (e.g., Tetlock,
- 4 1986; Thorisdottir, Jost, Liviatan, & Shrout, 2007). Individuals attaching more importance to
- 5 openness to change (i.e., stimulation, autonomy) and self-transcendence (i.e., universalism,
- 6 benevolence) values tend to be left-wing-oriented, while individuals attaching more
- 7 importance to self-enhancement (i.e., power, achievement) and conservatism values (i.e.,
- 8 conformity, tradition, security) tend to be right-wing-oriented (e.g., Jost, 2006; Maio et al.,
- 9 2003; Schwartz, Caprara, & Vecchione, 2010; Thorisdottir et al., 2007). Right-wing
- individuals tend to score higher on system justification theory: i.e., the motivational tendency
- to defend and legitimize existing social, economic and political arrangements (Jost & Banaji,
- 12 1994).
- 13 Human values, attitudes and behaviours
- Values strongly influence attitudinal processes (Maio, 2010). In particular, individuals
- attaching a greater importance to power or self-enhancement values tend to be negative
- towards dominated social groups (e.g., Duckitt, Wagner, du Plessis, & Birum, 2002; Maio,
- 2010; Souchon, Maio, Hanel, & Bardin, 2017). Values also guide behaviours through a
- value-attitude-behaviour model (e.g., Homer & Kahle, 1988; Maio & Olson, 1995; Tudoran,
- Olsen, & Dopico, 2009). For example, social distance towards mentally disabled people is
- 20 higher when attachment to self-enhancement values is more important (Angermeyer &
- 21 Matschinger, 1997). Thus, values shape not only political orientation, but guide also
- attitudinal processes and behaviours (Maio et al., 2003).

## The present study

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- To our knowledge, the literature on the influence of teacher values and political
- orientation on their behaviours, teaching styles or expectations towards students is limited.

1 For example, Tal and Yinon (2002) have examined the relationship between the behaviours

2 teachers allow in their classrooms (e.g., drinking water in the classroom), their own

3 behaviours (e.g., authority) and their values. Cohen (2010) examined how teacher values

predicted teacher commitment. Verkasalo, Tuomtvaara and Lindeman (1996) in Finland

studied teacher values and their image of an ideal student. Tatto (1996) studied how teachers

could transmit values to their students and Ottenbreit et al. (2010) studied the influence of

teacher values in the use of new technologies.

Thus, this research aimed to study whether teacher political orientation, theoretically associated with their values, could have an influence on their success expectations towards high school students from a low or a high social background. Our general hypothesis was that the more teachers are right-wing-oriented and/or attach a high importance to power values and a low importance to universalism values, the more they will predict that high school students from higher social backgrounds will be more successful than students from lower social backgrounds. This general hypothesis is related to system justification theory research showing that right-wing-oriented individuals tend to favor the status quo (e.g., Jost, 2006), as well as research indicating that individuals attaching importance to power values tend to be negative towards minorities (e.g., Duckitt et al., 2002; Maio et al., 2003; Souchon et al., 2017).

More specifically, our operational hypotheses were that (a) teachers will develop higher success expectations for high school students from higher social backgrounds than for students from lower social backgrounds, and (b), the more teachers are right-wing-oriented and/or attach greater importance to power values (and thus less importance to universalism values), the more negatively they will evaluate the future of students from lower social backgrounds in comparison to their judgment of students from higher social backgrounds.

25 Method

# Participants and protocol

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2 Eighty-eight high school teachers in France ( $M_{age}=38.04$ ,  $SD_{age}=9.53$ ;  $M_{experience}=12.62$ , SD<sub>experience</sub>=9.70) including 49 women (M<sub>age</sub>=37.28, SD<sub>age</sub>=9.2, M<sub>experience</sub>=12.55, 3  $SD_{\text{experience}}$ =9.3) and 39 men ( $M_{\text{age}}$ =39,  $SD_{\text{age}}$ =8.6,  $M_{\text{experience}}$ =12.71,  $SD_{\text{experience}}$ =8.4) 4 participated in the study near Paris. The principle of the study was that one researcher gave a 5 questionnaire measuring teacher values and political orientation, while another researcher 6 gave a second questionnaire measuring teacher expectations and success predictions based on 7 student social background. 8 The two researchers were Master's students participating in the project. In each high 9 school, the researchers explained that the questionnaires ("values and political orientation" 10 and "success prediction") were independent studies: the two data sets were associated through 11 a coding system. Questions related to "teaching and policy" issues were added at the end of 12 13 the "values and political orientation" questionnaire to lead teachers to believe that the purpose of the questionnaire was to understand the relations that might exist between their values or 14 15 political orientation and their opinion on various issues such as "teacher reduction in national education" or "university professionalization". 16 Concerning the second questionnaire, the instructions given to the teachers were: 17 "These vignettes describe profiles of former tenth grade students who actually existed. Our 18 19 goal is to test your ability to detect what really became of these former students. Specifically, based on the information provided, we ask you to please predict the level of performance and 20 achievement of each of these high school students in the short, medium, and longer term in 21 22 subsequent years". During debriefing, none of the teachers was aware of the real objectives of the study. 23 The questionnaires were completed during teacher breaks. Explanations were 24 provided so that teachers could respond without difficulty. In particular, the researchers 25

- 1 explained that (a) answers were strictly anonymous and confidential and therefore the
- 2 teachers could answer as truthfully as possible, i.e., in a way that reflected their real thoughts
- and feelings; (b) there were no right or wrong answers in the questionnaires; and (c) each
- 4 participant had to answer the questionnaire in a personal way (it was "his" or "her" answers
- 5 that mattered and not those of his or her entourage).

#### Measures

Values. The 10 basic value categories were measured with the validated French translation of the Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ, Wach & Hammer, 2003). This questionnaire consists of 40 short portraits describing different people of the same sex as the respondent. Each portrait describes a person's goals, aspirations or wishes and implicitly refers to a core value (e.g., "She or he likes to be in charge and tell others what to do. She or he wants people to do what she or he says" describes a person who values power). For each portrait, respondents were asked to answer the question "How much is this person like you?". There are six possible answers ranging from "just like me" to "not at all like me". The importance of a given value to an individual is assessed based on the degree of resemblance that he or she stated between the portrait that implicitly refers to that particular value and himself or herself (scale of 1 to 6). For each of the 10 value categories, the number of items used, as well as the Cronbach's coefficient, are given in Table 2.

Political orientation. Political orientation was measured with the 1-item procedure from Jost (2006). Participants were asked to indicate on an eleven-point scale from 0 ("extreme left") to 10 ("extreme right") their political orientation

Prediction of student success. For reasons of ecological validity, it did not seem sufficient to indicate only the professions of the students' parents in order to induce different social expectations. In order to avoid presenting teachers with overly caricatural student profiles (e.g., high social background and excellent academic record) and to ensure that the

- 1 profiles included a degree of ambiguity necessary for any projection of psychological
- 2 constructs (e.g., Fiske & Taylor, 2013), we presented teachers with additional information on
- 3 the students' academic record and on the meaning they gave to school (i.e., finding the school
- 4 intrinsically interesting or not). In addition, since student gender is an element that can
- 5 influence teacher expectations (e.g., see Trouilloud & Sarrazin, 2003 for a review), we
- 6 focused our research only on male students in order to limit possible confounding effects.
- 7 Finally, the tenth-grade class was chosen because it is in France a pivotal class in which
- 8 teachers must decide on the orientation of students at the end of the year.
- 9 Thus, 11 different vignettes describing the academic characteristics of a tenth grader
- were presented to teachers. Of these 11 vignettes, eight were used to test our hypotheses and
- three were neutral. The design for the eight "test" vignettes was 2 (high social background vs.
- low social background) x 2 (gives meaning vs. does not give meaning to his learning) x 2
- school records (good vs. average). After reading each vignette, the participant had to answer
- four questions about student future achievement on a Likert scale ranging from 1 "Absolutely
- not" to 7 "Completely". The questions were: 1) "Does this student belong in science class?";
- 16 2) "Can this student enter university?"; 3) "Can this student obtain a university degree? "4)
- "Can this student obtain a professional Master's degree"?
- 18 High vs. low socioeconomic environment. The parents' occupations (see Darley &
- 19 Gross, 1983), combined with student extracurricular activities, was designed to induce either a
- 20 high (vignettes 2, 4, 8, and 10) or a low (vignettes 1, 6, 9, and 11) socioeconomic background.
- 21 Specifically, the occupations and extracurricular activities were systematically socially
- 22 congruent in order to clearly activate a different socioeconomic background (i.e., socially high
- parental occupations combined with socially high extracurricular activities or socially low
- occupations combined with socially low extracurricular activities). Furthermore, the

- 1 extracurricular and leisure activities were chosen with reference to the study by Van Mattre et.
- al. (2000) on the influence of such activities on teacher expectations.
- Thus, to induce a high socioeconomic environment, the parents' professions were
- 4 presented as "doctor" (father an emergency doctor, mother a freelance doctor, vignette 2);
- 5 "architect" (father a freelance specialist in underwater architecture, mother an architect
- 6 employed in a large group, vignette 4); "lawyer" (father a social lawyer, mother a criminal
- 7 lawyer, vignette 8); or "teacher" (father a university English teacher, mother a high school
- 8 mathematics teacher, vignette 10). The extracurricular activities were presented as "music at
- 9 the conservatory" and "tennis in competition" (vignette 2); "private lessons in mathematics
- and English" and "squash" (vignette 4); "lyrical singing", "classical guitar" and "tennis"
- 11 (vignette 8); or "learning Russian, passionate about Russian literature" and "golf" (vignette
- 12 10).
- 13 Conversely, to induce a low socioeconomic background, the parents' occupations were
- presented as "father a craftsman," "mother a secretary" (vignette 1); "father a worker,"
- "mother a cleaner" (vignette 6); "father and mother hairdressers in their own hairdressing
- salon" (vignette 9); or "father and mother look after their own crêperie" (vignette 11)". The
- extracurricular activities were presented as "playing football", "supporter of his football club"
- and "mechanic: moped repair" (vignette 1); "television", "football" and "table football"
- (vignette 6); "competitive cycling" and "spending time with friends at the pub" (vignette 9); or
- 20 "television", "pinball" and "football" (vignette 11).
- 21 Makes sense vs. does not make sense of his learning. Students from both
- socioeconomic backgrounds (high vs. low) could "make sense" (vignettes 1, 2, 4 and 6) or
- "not make sense" (vignettes 8, 9, 10 and 11) of their learning. Students who made sense of
- 24 their learning were described by either: "able to give meaning to the subjects taught and
- interested in their content" (vignette 1), or "interested in a general way in what is taught: often

asks questions" (vignette 2). Students who did not give meaning to their learning were

2 described by: "often wonders what he is doing in class. Often claims that the subjects taught

are not very useful and that it would be better to learn more useful things" (vignette 8);

"sometimes has difficulty making sense of what is being taught. Wonders about the

usefulness of learning all these abstract concepts and knowledge" (vignette 9); "sometimes

has difficulty making sense of what is being taught. Wonders why he has to learn things that

are so far removed from what is really interesting for someone his age" (vignette 10); or

"sometimes this student wonders what is the point of what he is learning in class. He claims

that the subjects taught are useless and that it would be better to learn more useful or concrete

things" (vignette 11).

School records. Students from both socioeconomic backgrounds (high vs. low) who "made sense" or "did not make sense" of their learning were depicted as having a "good record" (vignettes 2, 6, 9 and 10) or an "average record" (vignettes 1, 4, 8 and 11). Students with a good record were described by: "Marks ranged from 13, 14, 15<sup>1</sup> in science and 12, 13, 14 in literature. His marks place him among the top students in his class." Students with average records were described as "His marks are average in both science (10, 11, 12) and literature (10, 11, 12), but he is actually in the top half of his class".

#### **Data Analysis Strategy**

Values. Scores for each category of values were calculated following the procedure recommended by Schwartz (1992). Specifically, the average of the questions within each value category was calculated (e.g., for the value category "universalism", the average for questions 3, 8, 19, 23, 29, and 40 was calculated), and then centered on the average of the responses to the 40 PVQ questions. Thus, the scores for the different value categories sometimes take on a negative value (e.g., if a participant's average for the 40 questions is 4,

<sup>1</sup> In France, the marks given in the school domain range from 0 to 20, with 20 being the highest mark.

and their average "power" category response is 3, then their "power" value score is "-1"). The

2 higher the score, the more important the value category is to individuals.

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Theoretically, only the most important values impact on how individuals behave, perceive their environment, and evaluate it. Without applying this procedure, taking into account only the raw averages of the different categories of values would not make it possible to compare the participants with each other. For example, two strictly identical averages of the different questions measuring power (e.g., 4) by two different participants will take on different meanings depending on whether one participant answers on average towards the bottom of the scale on all the other questions (e.g., 3) and the other participant answers on average towards the top of the scale on all the other questions (e.g., 5). While both participants' answers would appear to be identical with the same raw average for the power category, for the first participant power clearly is a more important value than for the second. Success Prediction. Participants were asked to answer four different questions about student outcomes. An average "success prediction" score was calculated by averaging these four questions. We tested that these questions measured the same construct (8 test vignettes X 4 questions: reliability α=.95). A mixed-model ANOVA (2 X 2 X 2 X 2) on "success prediction towards students" was conducted. Teacher gender (male vs. female), meaning given to learning (gave meaning vs. did not give meaning) and academic record (good record vs. average record) served as between-subject factors, while socioeconomic background (high vs. low) served as a within-subject factor. *Ideology, values and success prediction.* For each teacher, the average "success prediction" score for the 4 students in the "high socioeconomic background" vignettes (calculation of the average score on the 16 prediction questions from the 4 "high socioeconomic background" vignettes, i.e., 4 questions x 4 vignettes) and the average

"success prediction" score for the 4 students in the 4 "low socioeconomic background"

vignettes (calculation of the average score on the 16 prediction questions from the 4 "low 1

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socioeconomic background" vignettes) were calculated. These two scores then made it possible to determine both the strength and the valence of teacher bias towards students from a high versus a low socioeconomic background (calculation of the "score for students from a high socioeconomic background" minus the "score for students from a low socioeconomic background"). A positive bias reflects a greater prediction of success for students from high socioeconomic backgrounds, while a negative bias reflects a greater success prediction for students from low socioeconomic backgrounds (see Table 2). Correlation and regression analyses were then conducted to test the influence of values and political orientation in understanding bias related to student socioeconomic background. In relation to our second operational hypothesis, our goal here was to test the impact of power values and universalism, as well as political orientation on the prediction of student achievement. However, since an effect of teacher gender on student achievement expectations emerged in the preliminary analysis, we first independently tested in three different regressions the impact of power values (regression 1), universalism values (regression 2), and political orientation (regression 3) on student achievement predictions, controlling for the influence of teacher gender in each case. After controlling for the gender effect, a multiple regression analysis was conducted to test whether the power measure, the universalism measure and the political orientation measure continued to predict the general bias when they were tested in the same regression. Finally, as power values are opposed to universalism values in Schwartz's (1992) model and these values are strongly negatively correlated in this research (r(88)=-.54, p<.001), a fifth regression analysis tested if "power vs. universalism" (calculated by subtracting power minus universalism, see Souchon et al., 2017) predicted the

general bias after controlling for the influence of political orientation.

1 Results

# Preliminary analyses

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Table 2 presents descriptive statistics for the study variables. The average teacher 3 political orientation score (M=3.76) indicates that the teachers in the sample were more at the 4 "left center" of the political continuum. The most important values pursued by these teachers 5 were benevolence, universalism, self-direction and hedonism, while the least important values 6 were power, achievement, tradition and conformity. Thus, teachers in our sample were higher 7 8 in "Self-Transcendence" than "Self-Enhancement" (M=. 59, SD=.51 vs. M=-.94, SD=.74, t(87)=12.33, p<.001), and "Openness to Change" than "Conservatism" (M=.07, SD=.57 vs. 9 10 M=-.39, SD =.52, t(87)=4.31, p<.001). Preliminary analyses show that the more teachers attached importance to "Self-11 Enhancement" values, the less importance they attached to "Self-Transcendence" values 12 13 (r(88)=-.66, p<.01). On the other hand, the more teachers attached importance to "Openness to Change", the less importance they attached to "Conservatism" (r(88)=-.65, p<.01). 14 15 Moreover, the more teachers were right-wing-oriented, the more they tended to attach 16 importance to "Self-Enhancement" values (r(85)=.24, p<.05), whereas the more they were left-wing-oriented, the more they tended to attach importance to "Self-Transcendence" values 17 (r(85)=-.30, p<.05). More specifically, the more they were right-wing-oriented, the more they 18 19 preferred power values over universalism values, r(85)=.28, p<.01.

## **Predicting Student Success Based on Socioeconomic Background**

Results from the mixed-model ANOVA indicated, with a medium to large effect size, a significant main effect of socioeconomic background, F(1,85)=24.36, p<.001,  $\eta$ <sup>2</sup>=.22, a significant effect of meaning given to learning, F(1,85) = 67.36, p<.001,  $\eta$ <sup>2</sup>=.44, a significant main effect of school record, F(1,85)=236.69, p<.001,  $\eta$ <sup>2</sup>=.75, and a significant two-way interaction between socioeconomic background and teacher gender, F(1,85)=4.017, p<.05.

1 The main effect of socioeconomic background indicated that teachers considered that students from advantaged socioeconomic backgrounds had a better chance of success than students from less advantaged socioeconomic backgrounds (M=5.40, SD=1.26 vs. M=5.15, SD=1.31). The main effect of meaning given to learning indicated that teachers perceived that students who gave meaning to their learning had a greater chance of success (M=5.60, SD=1.15 vs. M=4.93, SD=1.34) than students who did not give meaning to their learning. The main effect of school record indicated that teachers perceived that students with a good 7 8 academic record had a greater chance of success than students with an average academic record (*M*=5.87, *SD*=.95 vs. *M*=4.66, *SD*=1.30).

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According to post-hoc Newman-Keuls analysis, the two-way interaction between socioeconomic background and teacher gender indicated that teacher gender predicted better achievement for students from high (compared to low) socioeconomic backgrounds, but that this effect was significant only for males (M=5.34, SD=1.33 vs. M=4.96, SD=1.42, p<.001).

# Relationship between values, political orientation and success prediction

For each teacher, the strength and direction of judgment bias towards students from advantaged socioeconomic backgrounds was determined (see Table 2). Table 3 shows the interrelationships between values, political orientation, and general bias. Results indicate that the more individuals tended to attach importance to power values or to be right-wing-oriented, the more their judgments tended to be biased in favour of students from high socioeconomic backgrounds. On the other hand, the more individuals attached importance to universalism values, the less biased their judgments tended to be in favour of students from socioeconomically privileged backgrounds. Furthermore, if "Self-Enhancement" was associated with the tendency to favour students from a high socioeconomic background, r(88)=.21, p<.05, "Self-Transcendence" was associated with the tendency to favour students

from a low socioeconomic background, r(88)=-.19, p=.07. However, "Conservatism" and

"Openness to Change" were not associated with bias.

Table 4 presents the different regressions performed to test the influence of power values, universalism values and political orientation on the general bias prediction. Results of the first three regressions indicate that power values, universalism values and political orientation predict bias regardless of gender. Specifically, the more teachers attached importance to power values (regression 1) or were right-wing-oriented (regression 3), the more likely they were to predict a better future for high school students from socioeconomically advantaged backgrounds. On the other hand, the more importance teachers attached to universalism values (regression 2), the less biased were their judgments in favour of students from a privileged socioeconomic background. Moreover, political orientation (regression 4) predicted judgmental bias more strongly than power and universalism values. However, in the fifth regression, attachment towards power (over universalism) values continues to predict bias in the same way as political orientation.

15 Discussion

The aim of the present research was to test whether teacher political orientation, as well as their attachment to power and universalism values, could predict different success expectations in high school and after high school depending on student socioeconomic background. Our first hypothesis was that teachers would develop higher achievement expectations for students from higher socioeconomic backgrounds than for students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds.

Confirming this hypothesis and in agreement with many previous studies on the influence of socioeconomic background (e.g., Darley & Gross, 1983; Van Mattre et al., 2000), results obtained in this study indicated that teachers predicted a better academic future for tenth grade students from a high socioeconomic background compared to students from a

1 lower socioeconomic background. More specifically, the teacher judgments were biased in

2 favor of students from higher socioeconomic backgrounds. Thus, it is important to note that

3 in Darley and Gross's study (1983) only an indirect methodology was used to measure

4 different expectations according to socioeconomic background. Darley and Gross (1983)

found no effect of socioeconomic background when they asked teachers directly whether they

would make differences based on student socioeconomic background. Teachers only judged a

student's skills differently based on a video that induced two different socioeconomic

backgrounds.

In our study, the bias obtained in favour of students with a higher socioeconomic level was obtained by also employing an indirect methodology. Indeed, we used vignettes to present student profiles as has already been done elsewhere (e.g., Baron et al., 1995; Van Mattre et al., 2000) and teachers were explicitly asked to predict as best they could the academic future of the students presented on the basis of summary information: parents' occupations and student extracurricular activities congruent with socioeconomic background; "makes sense" or "does not make sense" of their learning; average or good school record. However, the participants' responses were largely controllable and the information on student socioeconomic background was clearly stereotyped (e.g., lawyer, doctor, laborer, hairdresser).

Thus, it is possible that the effects of socioeconomic background on teacher predictions of student success are much stronger in reality. Our results would show, even if the bias is relatively small in absolute terms, the importance and strength of information about student socioeconomic background in the creation of teacher success expectations. Although we used a direct methodology and the issue of student socioeconomic background is a sensitive one in school, we got an effect of student socioeconomic background on teacher achievement expectations.

However, the variability in teacher responses was important: 25% of the teachers were biased against students from an advantaged socioeconomic background. It should also be noted that there are few studies in the literature showing that socioeconomic background does not impact on teacher expectations development (e.g., Paino & Renzulli, 2013).

The second hypothesis was that the more teachers are right-wing-oriented and/or have a high attachment to power values (over universalism values), the more they will be biased against students from low socioeconomic backgrounds. Results confirmed this hypothesis. They indicated that a right-wing political orientation was associated with a greater bias against students from a disadvantaged socioeconomic background. Moreover, a greater attachment to power values was associated with a greater bias against students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, while a greater attachment to universalism values was associated with a greater bias in favour of students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. In parallel, regression analyses showed that a greater right-wing political orientation, and a greater attachment to power values (over universalism values), predicted a more favourable teacher success expectation for students from advantaged socioeconomic backgrounds.

The result concerning the impact of political ideology is linked to system justification theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003). System justification theory reveals that the more individuals are right-wing-oriented, the more they justify the system and society as it currently exists and the more they seek the status quo (Jost, 2006; Jost, Nosek, & Gosling, 2008). Individuals exhibiting stronger system-justification tendencies in general believe that society is not necessarily perfect as it is, but it is still the current system, with all its limitations, that works best or is the most well-organized. Living in a world or a system perceived as unfair would cause anxiety for and be perceived as a threat to the individual. Thus, in order to preserve a psychological balance, individuals are deeply motivated to justify the extant system, all the more so since they would perceive that

they have no real power to change it (e.g., Jost, 2006). For example, individuals who are the

2 most right-wing-oriented and who therefore justify the system the most will tend to think that

3 global warming is only slightly due to man, and that it would therefore be futile to try to

change the way the system currently works (e.g., Jacquet, Dietrich, & Jost, 2014). This

adherence to the system may help explain why the more right-wing-oriented teachers will

more or less consciously predict that the more modest students will have less of a chance for

academic success.

Moreover, adherence to a right-wing political orientation, as we find in the present study, is generally associated with a stronger attachment to power values and a weaker attachment to universalism values (e.g., Barnea & Schwartz, 1998; Maio et al., 2003; Schwartz, Caprara, & Vecchione, 2010; Thorisdottir, Jost, Liviatan, & Shrout, 2007). In turn, these types of attachments are associated in the literature both with a greater tendency to stereotype and a tendency to negatively evaluate dominated social groups or minorities (e.g., Feather, 2004). Power-oriented individuals find it normal for some social groups to be dominated and remain at the bottom of the social ladder and for other social groups to be dominant (Duckitt et al., 2002; Norman et al., 2010; Vescio, Gervais, Snyder, & Hoover, 2005). Thus, the study found that both political orientation and attachments to power or universalism values were predictive (with a 12% variance) of judgment bias towards disadvantaged students.

These results are related to studies conducted in the context of the Pygmalion effect (for summaries in a school context, see Trouilloud & Sarrazin, 2003; Wang, Rubie-Davies, & Meissel, 2018). In these studies, most often conducted in an ecological context, teacher expectations were based on information not available in our study. In this line of research, the authors also attempted to assess the real weight of teacher expectations for student performance in the short and medium term (Trouilloud & Sarrazin, 2003). However, this

research measures the effects of expectations without measuring certain potential antecedents, such as teacher values, political ideology or adherence to system justification theory. Based on the results of the present study, it is possible, for example, that while the majority of teachers develop different expectations based on student socioeconomic background, only the most conservative teachers or those who attach the most importance to power values (over universalism values) will be more likely to transform their expectations into reality or to interact more negatively with students from more modest socioeconomic backgrounds. For example, a very egalitarian teacher and left-wing-oriented teacher could expect lower performance from a student from a lower socioeconomic background, without behaving negatively towards him or her. The teacher's values would lead him or her to interact with

this student for longer periods of time in the classroom and to be warmer towards the student.

#### **Limitations and future research**

Limitations of the present research include that shared variance explained in the various regressions is relatively small. Thus, the impact of teacher values and political orientation on judgment bias is relatively small. This relative weakness may be due to the diversity of factors that may contribute, more or less consciously, to the development of teacher judgments, and therefore to a potential prediction bias (e.g., personality traits, degree of adhesion to gender stereotypes). Future work should explore the role of these different factors and their potential interactions. Also, it should be noted that one extra-curricular vignette (no. 4) created to represent a high socioeconomic background, "private lessons in mathematics and English", is directly related to the acquisition of academic skills. Thus, it is not possible to know for this vignette whether the creation of favourable expectations towards the profile is linked to the high socioeconomic background or to the very nature of the extracurricular activity presented. However, statistical analysis not accounting for this vignette and its symmetrically opposed vignette (developed for the other experimental

condition) showed that the main results remain significant (with the exception of power 1 values)<sup>2</sup>. Second, the student profiles presented were only male. A new study should focus on 2 teacher predictions for students of both sexes. Furthermore, we tested the direct impact of 3 teacher values and political orientation on the bias of success predictions based on student 4 socioeconomic background. As values are antecedents of political orientation, we should test 5 in the future the hypothesis that teacher values can predict judgment bias towards students 6 from a disadvantaged socioeconomic background with political orientation as a mediator. 7 Finally, the correlations between political orientation and power values or universalism values 8 in this study are relatively weak. This weakness could be explained by the one-dimensional 9 10 measure of political orientation that we used, whereas there are two-dimensional measures of political orientation (e.g., Piurko, Schwartz, & Davidov, 2011; Thorisdottir et al., 2007). 11 Thus, new studies that take these limitations into account need to be conducted in order to 12 13 better understand the influence of values and political orientation on teacher judgments towards students of different socioeconomic backgrounds. 14 15 Moreover, social cognitions may be more or less automatic or controlled (e.g., Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006). If social actors (e.g., teachers) can behave consciously by 16 thinking about their actions and their consequences in certain social situations, they will also 17 18 at times have to react quickly to social situations and to automatically process a large amount

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of information or tasks to be done in parallel. Under these conditions, automatic processes

necessarily interact with more conscious processes to help teachers intervene in their

classrooms (e.g., Bonefeld & Dickhäuser, 2018; Tobisch & Dresel, 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Correlations with this recalculation indicate that political orientation remains associated with general bias (r(88)=.28, p=.007 vs. r(88)=.24, p=.021), as well as power vs. universalism (r(88)=.21, p=.045 vs. r(88)=.26, p=.012). Also, universalism remains negatively associated with general bias (r(88)=.22, p=.04 vs. r(88)=.21, p=.044), as well as Self-Transcendence (r(88)=.19, p=.075 vs. r(88)=.20, p=.058). But, power (r(88)=.17, p=.12 vs. r(88)=.25, p=.02) and Self-Enhancement (r(88)=.14, p=.18 vs. r(88)=.21, p=.042) are no longer significantly associated with bias. Therefore, the results obtained either do not change fundamentally or remain mostly significant. Political orientation is still strongly associated with bias, as a power vs. universalism variable.

1	Implicit measures have recently been developed to study automatic processes (e.g.,
2	Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). Implicit measures interact with explicit measures
3	and predict behaviours more powerfully than explicit measures alone (e.g., Kurdi et al., 2018).
4	In the present study, we measured only deliberate or explicit teacher decisions. But implicit
5	measures have been used recently to study teacher expectations based on student
6	socioeconomic background (e.g., Bonefeld & Dickhäuser, 2018; Glock & Karbach, 2015;
7	Glock & Klapproth, 2017). As we find that explicit teacher political orientation and values
8	are associated with different explicit expectations depending on student socioeconomic
9	background, future research should test whether an implicit measure of political orientation
10	(Choma & Hafer, 2009) could both be associated with an implicit attachment to power values
11	(Souchon et al, 2017) and the tendency to implicitly associate students from lower
12	socioeconomic backgrounds with lower academic skills than students from higher
13	socioeconomic backgrounds, or to act less supportively towards these students.
14	Finally, all school evaluation has a subjective dimension. It would be interesting to
15	test in a natural (ecological) context whether implicit and explicit teacher political orientation
16	and their implicit and explicit power and universalism values can predict the grades given to
17	students from different socioeconomic backgrounds. Studies including both implicit and
18	explicit measures to capture teacher cognitions and behaviours are very recent (e.g., Bonefeld
19	& Dickhäuser, 2018). These new measures, associated with political orientation and values
20	measures, could provide a better understanding of teacher activity in these situations.
21	
22	Acknowledgements: Professor Gregory R. Maio (University of Bath), Paul Hanel
23	(University of Bath) and Tom Scherer
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# 1 Table 1.

# 2 Conceptual Definitions of 10 Basic Values

Values	<b>Motivational goals</b>	Items examples
Self-direction Stimulation Hedonism	Independent thought and action: choosing, creating, exploring Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life Pleasure and sensuous gratification for	creativity, freedom, independent, curious, choosing own goals varied life, daring, an exciting life pleasure, enjoying life
Achievement	oneself.  Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards	successful, ambitious, capable, influential
Power	Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources	social power, wealth, authority, preserving my public image
Security	Safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self	family security, national security, reciprocation of favours, social order, clean
Conformity	Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms	self-discipline, obedient, politeness, honoring of parents and elders
Tradition	Respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provides	respect for tradition, humble, accepting my portion in life, devout, moderate
Benevolence	Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in	honest, loyal, helpful, forgiving, responsible
Universalism	frequent personal contact Understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of <i>all</i> people and for nature	broadminded, wisdom, a world of beauty, equality, unity with nature, a world at peace, social justice, protecting the environment

Table 2.Descriptive statistics from the main variables of the study

	MD	Items	α	M	SD	95%-CI
Personal information						
Age	0	1	-	38.04	9.53	36.02; 40.06
Experience	0	1	-	12.62	9.70	10.56; 14.68
Political orientation and values						
Political orientation	2	1	-	3.76	1.81	3.38; 4.15
Self-Transcendence	4	10	.81	.59	.51	.48;.70
Universalism	2	6	.76	.40	.66	.26; .54
Benevolence	2	4	.72	.77	.56	.65; .89
Self-Enhancement	1	7	.85	94	.75	-1.10 ;78
Power	0	3	.72	-1.34	.92	-1.53 ; -1.14
Achievement	1	4	.81	54	.80	71 ;36
Openness to change	1	7	.76	.06	.57	05;.18
Self-Direction	0	4	.56	.49	.50	.39;.60
Stimulation	1	3	.71	37	.86	55 ;18
Conservatism	4	13	.79	39	.52	50 ;28
Security	3	5	.65	.05	.59	06 ;.18
Conformism	0	4	.72	24	.86	43 ;06
Tradition	1	4	.47	98	.72	-1.13 ;82
Power vs. universalism	2	9	-	-1.74	1.38	-2.03 ; -1.44
Hedonism	0	3	.83	.49	.90	.30; .68
Success prediction						
High socioeconomic background	0	4x4				
Give meaning and good record	0	1x4	.87	6.32	.69	6.17; 6.46
Give meaning and average record	0	1x4	.92	5.11	1.23	4.85; 5.37
Do not give meaning and good record	0	1x4	.89	5.75	.87	5.57; 5.94
Do not give meaning and average record	0	1x4	.86	4.43	1.28	4.16; 4.70
Low socioeconomic background	0	4x4				
Give meaning and good record	0	1x4	.92	6.02	.89	5.83; 6.21
Give meaning and average record	0	1x4	.79	4.96	1.09	4.73; 5.19
Do not give meaning and good record	0	1x4	.83	5.40	1.09	5.17; 5.64
Do not give meaning and average record	0	1x4	.88	4.17	1.30	3.90; 4.45
Means for the 4 situations						
High socioeconomic background	0	4x4	.82	5.40	.84	5.22;5.58
Low socioeconomic background	0	4x4	.83	5.15	.90	4.96; 5.34
Socioeconomic background bias	0	2x4x4	-	.25	.51	.14;.36

Note. MD = Missing data

# 1 Table 3.

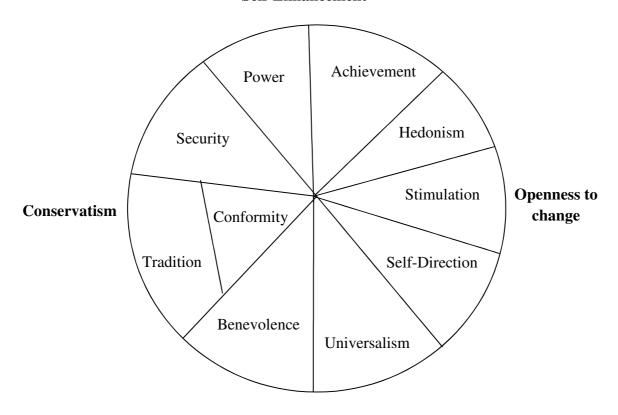
# Interrelations between political orientation, values and general bias

_	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. General bias	-											
2. Political O	.37**	-										
3. Universalism	21*	34**	-									
4. Benevolence	12	16	.41**	-								
5. Power	.25*	.25*	54**	40**	-							
6. Achievement	.12	.19+	55**	43**	.53**	-						
7. Self-Direction	03	17	.18+	.19+	17	25*	-					
8. Stimulation	06	.03	04	.00	.02	.12	.34**	-				
9. Security	04	.11	22*	24*	08	02	31**	55**	-			
10. Conf	.00	.03	13	24*	13	22*	41**	52**	.33*	-		
11. Tradition	.09	.00	20+	12	25*	17	22*	20+	.11	.34**	-	
12. Hedonism	01	02	.19+	.26*	24*	27*	.21+	.16	24*	35**	36**	-

Notes. A positive general bias means a greater success prediction for students coming from a high socioeconomic background, while a negative general bias means a lesser success prediction for students coming from a low socioeconomic background. + p < .10; \* p < .05; \*\* p < .01

R <sup>2</sup> =.08, F(3,84)=2.36, p=.07			
Sex	1.21	.22	.13
Power	1.81	.07	.20
Sex X Power	15	.87	02
R <sup>2</sup> =.09, F(3,84)=2.89, p=.04			
Sex	1.62	.10	.17
Universalism	-1.71	.09	18
Sex X Universalism	-1.29	.19	13
R <sup>2</sup> =.16, <i>F</i> (3,82)=5.43, <i>p</i> =.001	т	P	В
Sex	1.40	.16	.14
Political orientation	3.41	.001	.35
Sex X Political orientation	1.02	.31	.10
R <sup>2</sup> =.15, <i>F</i> (3,81)=4.93, <i>p</i> =.003			
Power	1.11	.26	.13
Universalism	57	.56	07
Political Orientation	2.73	.007	.30
R <sup>2</sup> =.15, <i>F</i> (2,82)=7.48, <i>p</i> =.001			
Power vs. Universalism	1.77	.07	.19
Political orientation	2.77	.006	.29
	Sex Power Sex X Power  R <sup>2</sup> =.09, F(3,84)=2.89, p=.04 Sex Universalism Sex X Universalism  R <sup>2</sup> =.16, F(3,82)=5.43, p=.001 Sex Political orientation Sex X Political orientation  R <sup>2</sup> =.15, F(3,81)=4.93, p=.003 Power Universalism Political Orientation  R <sup>2</sup> =.15, F(2,82)=7.48, p=.001 Power vs. Universalism	Sex       1.21         Power       1.81         Sex X Power      15         R²=.09, F(3,84)=2.89, p=.04	Sex       1.21       .22         Power       1.81       .07         Sex X Power      15       .87         R²=.09, F(3,84)=2.89, p=.04       .87         Sex       1.62       .10         Universalism       -1.71       .09         Sex X Universalism       -1.29       .19         R²=.16, F(3,82)=5.43, p=.001       T       P         Sex       1.40       .16         Political orientation       3.41       .001         Sex X Political orientation       1.02       .31         R²=.15, F(3,81)=4.93, p=.003       .57       .56         Political Orientation       2.73       .007         R²=.15, F(2,82)=7.48, p=.001       .273       .007         R²=.15, F(2,82)=7.48, p=.001       .07       .07

# **Self-Enhancement**



**Self-Transcendence** 

Motivational relations between values according to Schwartz's model

Figure 1.