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RUNNING HEAD: VALEURS HUMAINES ET PREDICTION DE REUSSITE

Influence de l’Orientation Politique et des Valeurs des Enseignants sur leurs Prédications 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

Nicolas Souchon, Université Paris Nanterre, UFR STAPS, 200 Avenue de la République,
92001 Nanterre. nicolas.souchon@parisnanterre.fr, 01 40 97 57 30

Gilles Kermarec, Université de Brest
gilles.kermarec@univ-brest.fr

David Trouilloud, Université Grenoble Alpes
david.trouilloud@univ-grenoble-alpes.fr

Brigitte Bardin, Université Toulouse
brigitte.bardin@univ-tlse2.fr

Résumé

Introduction. Les enseignants tendent à développer des attentes et des comportements négatifs à l'égard des élèves venant de milieux sociaux économiques défavorisés.

Objectif. L'objectif de cette étude était de tester l'influence de l'orientation politique des enseignants, ainsi que de leur attachement aux valeurs de pouvoir et d'universalisme, sur leurs prédictions de réussite au bac et post-bac d'élèves de seconde en fonction de leur milieu social.

Méthode. 88 enseignants ($M_{\text{âge}}=38.04$ ans ; 44.3% d'hommes) de Lycée ont répondu à un questionnaire d'idéologie politique et de valeurs, ainsi qu'à un questionnaire permettant d'évaluer leurs prédictions de réussite de Lycéens masculins de seconde venant de différents milieux sociaux.

Résultats. Les enseignants ont prédit un meilleur avenir académique aux élèves venant d'un milieu social élevé. Bien que les effets soient relativement faibles, l'orientation politique des enseignants, ainsi que leur attachement aux valeurs de pouvoir et d'universalisme, ont prédit le biais de jugement en faveur des élèves provenant de milieux sociaux favorisés.

Conclusion. Prendre en considération l'orientation politique et les valeurs des enseignants permettrait d'approfondir la compréhension des processus par lesquels les enseignants développent des attentes différenciées vis-à-vis de leurs élèves.

Mots clés: Orientation Politique, Valeurs Humaines, Attentes, Milieu Social, Education

Abstract

Introduction. Teachers tend to develop negative expectations and behaviours towards students coming from low socioeconomic backgrounds.

Objective. The objective of this study was to test the influence of teacher political orientation, as well as their attachment to power and universalism values, on their predictions of academic success towards students from different socioeconomic backgrounds.

Method. 88 high school teachers ($M_{age}=38.04$ years; 44.3% men) responded to a questionnaire of political ideology and values, as well as to a questionnaire evaluating their prediction of success towards male high school students from different socioeconomic backgrounds.

Results. Teachers predicted a better academic success for students coming from a high socioeconomic background. Despite relatively small effect size, political ideology, as well as attachment to power and universalism values, predicted the bias of judgment.

Conclusion. Taking into consideration teachers' ideology and values would deepen understanding of processes underlying expectations development.

Key words: Political Orientation, Human Values, Expectations, Socioeconomic Background, Education

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 have been studied in different school subjects (e.g., Auwarter & Aruguete, 2008; Chang & Sue, 2003; Dusek & Joseph, 1983; Levin, Bornholt, & Lennon, 2005; Tobisch & Dresel, 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 & Gross, 1983; Van Mattre et al., 2000).

Student socioeconomic background and teacher expectations

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

1 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
4 themselves, (c) react differently and interpret student performance and behaviour differently,
5 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,
7 and teacher behaviours become more negative (see e.g., Trouilloud & Sarrazin, 2003 for a
8 review).

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

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

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

Human values

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

Human values and political orientation

Values are strongly associated with self-concept (Maio, Olson, Bernard, & Luke, 2003), personality (e.g., Bilsky & Schwartz, 1994) and political orientation (e.g., Tetlock, 1986; Thorisdottir, Jost, Liviatan, & Shrout, 2007). Individuals attaching more importance to openness to change (i.e., stimulation, autonomy) and self-transcendence (i.e., universalism, benevolence) values tend to be left-wing-oriented, while individuals attaching more importance to self-enhancement (i.e., power, achievement) and conservatism values (i.e., conformity, tradition, security) tend to be right-wing-oriented (e.g., Jost, 2006; Maio et al., 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, 1994).

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 higher when attachment to self-enhancement values is more important (Angermeyer & Matschinger, 1997). Thus, values shape not only political orientation, but guide also attitudinal processes and behaviours (Maio et al., 2003).

The present study

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
4 predicted teacher commitment. Verkasalo, Tuomtvaara and Lindeman (1996) in Finland
5 studied teacher values and their image of an ideal student. Tatto (1996) studied how teachers
6 could transmit values to their students and Ottenbreit et al. (2010) studied the influence of
7 teacher values in the use of new technologies.

8 Thus, this research aimed to study whether teacher political orientation, theoretically
9 associated with their values, could have an influence on their success expectations towards
10 high school students from a low or a high social background. Our general hypothesis was that
11 the more teachers are right-wing-oriented and/or attach a high importance to power values and
12 a low importance to universalism values, the more they will predict that high school students
13 from higher social backgrounds will be more successful than students from lower social
14 backgrounds. This general hypothesis is related to system justification theory research
15 showing that right-wing-oriented individuals tend to favor the status quo (e.g., Jost, 2006), as
16 well as research indicating that individuals attaching importance to power values tend to be
17 negative towards minorities (e.g., Duckitt et al., 2002; Maio et al., 2003; Souchon et al.,
18 2017).

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

25 Method

Participants and protocol

Eighty-eight high school teachers in France ($M_{\text{age}}=38.04$, $SD_{\text{age}}=9.53$; $M_{\text{experience}}=12.62$, $SD_{\text{experience}}=9.70$) including 49 women ($M_{\text{age}}=37.28$, $SD_{\text{age}}=9.2$, $M_{\text{experience}}=12.55$, $SD_{\text{experience}}=9.3$) and 39 men ($M_{\text{age}}=39$, $SD_{\text{age}}=8.6$, $M_{\text{experience}}=12.71$, $SD_{\text{experience}}=8.4$) participated in the study near Paris. The principle of the study was that one researcher gave a questionnaire measuring teacher values and political orientation, while another researcher gave a second questionnaire measuring teacher expectations and success predictions based on student social background.

The two researchers were Master's students participating in the project. In each high school, the researchers explained that the questionnaires ("values and political orientation" and "success prediction") were independent studies: the two data sets were associated through a coding system. Questions related to "teaching and policy" issues were added at the end of 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 political orientation and their opinion on various issues such as "teacher reduction in national education" or "university professionalization".

Concerning the second questionnaire, the instructions given to the teachers were: "These vignettes describe profiles of former tenth grade students who actually existed. Our 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 achievement of each of these high school students in the short, medium, and longer term in subsequent years". During debriefing, none of the teachers was aware of the real objectives of the study.

The questionnaires were completed during teacher breaks. Explanations were provided so that teachers could respond without difficulty. In particular, the researchers

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
3 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).

6 **Measures**

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

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

22 *Prediction of student success.* For reasons of ecological validity, it did not seem
23 sufficient to indicate only the professions of the students' parents in order to induce different
24 social expectations. In order to avoid presenting teachers with overly caricatural student
25 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
10 were presented to teachers. Of these 11 vignettes, eight were used to test our hypotheses and
11 three were neutral. The design for the eight "test" vignettes was 2 (high social background vs.
12 low social background) x 2 (gives meaning vs. does not give meaning to his learning) x 2
13 school records (good vs. average). After reading each vignette, the participant had to answer
14 four questions about student future achievement on a Likert scale ranging from 1 "Absolutely
15 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)
17 "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
23 parental occupations combined with socially high extracurricular activities or socially low
24 occupations combined with socially low extracurricular activities). Furthermore, the

extracurricular and leisure activities were chosen with reference to the study by Van Matre et. al. (2000) on the influence of such activities on teacher expectations.

Thus, to induce a high socioeconomic environment, the parents' professions were presented as "doctor" (father an emergency doctor, mother a freelance doctor, vignette 2); "architect" (father a freelance specialist in underwater architecture, mother an architect employed in a large group, vignette 4); "lawyer" (father a social lawyer, mother a criminal lawyer, vignette 8); or "teacher" (father a university English teacher, mother a high school mathematics teacher, vignette 10). The extracurricular activities were presented as "music at the conservatory" and "tennis in competition" (vignette 2); "private lessons in mathematics and English" and "squash" (vignette 4); "lyrical singing", "classical guitar" and "tennis" (vignette 8); or "learning Russian, passionate about Russian literature" and "golf" (vignette 10).

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 "television", "pinball" and "football" (vignette 11).

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 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 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, 15¹ 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,

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

1 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.

3 Theoretically, only the most important values impact on how individuals behave,
4 perceive their environment, and evaluate it. Without applying this procedure, taking into
5 account only the raw averages of the different categories of values would not make it possible
6 to compare the participants with each other. For example, two strictly identical averages of
7 the different questions measuring power (e.g., 4) by two different participants will take on
8 different meanings depending on whether one participant answers on average towards the
9 bottom of the scale on all the other questions (e.g., 3) and the other participant answers on
10 average towards the top of the scale on all the other questions (e.g., 5). While both
11 participants' answers would appear to be identical with the same raw average for the power
12 category, for the first participant power clearly is a more important value than for the second.

13 *Success Prediction.* Participants were asked to answer four different questions about
14 student outcomes. An average "success prediction" score was calculated by averaging these
15 four questions. We tested that these questions measured the same construct (8 test vignettes
16 X 4 questions: reliability $\alpha=.95$). A mixed-model ANOVA (2 X 2 X 2 X 2) on "success
17 prediction towards students" was conducted. Teacher gender (male vs. female), meaning
18 given to learning (gave meaning vs. did not give meaning) and academic record (good record
19 vs. average record) served as between-subject factors, while socioeconomic background (high
20 vs. low) served as a within-subject factor.

21 *Ideology, values and success prediction.* For each teacher, the average "success
22 prediction" score for the 4 students in the "high socioeconomic background" vignettes
23 (calculation of the average score on the 16 prediction questions from the 4 "high
24 socioeconomic background" vignettes, i.e., 4 questions x 4 vignettes) and the average
25 "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 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.

Results

Preliminary analyses

Table 2 presents descriptive statistics for the study variables. The average teacher political orientation score ($M=3.76$) indicates that the teachers in the sample were more at the "left center" of the political continuum. The most important values pursued by these teachers were benevolence, universalism, self-direction and hedonism, while the least important values were power, achievement, tradition and conformity. Thus, teachers in our sample were higher 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. $M=-.39, SD=.52$, $t(87)=4.31, p<.001$).

Preliminary analyses show that the more teachers attached importance to "Self-Enhancement" values, the less importance they attached to "Self-Transcendence" values ($r(88)=-.66, p<.01$). On the other hand, the more teachers attached importance to "Openness to Change", the less importance they attached to "Conservatism" ($r(88)=-.65, p<.01$). Moreover, the more teachers were right-wing-oriented, the more they tended to attach 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 ($r(85)=-.30, p<.05$). More specifically, the more they were right-wing-oriented, the more they 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, $F(1,85)=24.36, p<.001, \eta^2=.22$, a significant effect of meaning given to learning, $F(1,85)=67.36, p<.001, \eta^2=.44$, a significant main effect of school record, $F(1,85)=236.69, p<.001, \eta^2=.75$, 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
2 students from advantaged socioeconomic backgrounds had a better chance of success than
3 students from less advantaged socioeconomic backgrounds ($M=5.40$, $SD=1.26$ vs. $M=5.15$,
4 $SD=1.31$). The main effect of meaning given to learning indicated that teachers perceived
5 that students who gave meaning to their learning had a greater chance of success ($M=5.60$,
6 $SD=1.15$ vs. $M=4.93$, $SD=1.34$) than students who did not give meaning to their learning.
7 The main effect of school record indicated that teachers perceived that students with a good
8 academic record had a greater chance of success than students with an average academic
9 record ($M=5.87$, $SD=.95$ vs. $M=4.66$, $SD=1.30$).

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

14 **Relationship between values, political orientation and success prediction**

15 For each teacher, the strength and direction of judgment bias towards students from
16 advantaged socioeconomic backgrounds was determined (see Table 2). Table 3 shows the
17 interrelationships between values, political orientation, and general bias. Results indicate that
18 the more individuals tended to attach importance to power values or to be right-wing-oriented,
19 the more their judgments tended to be biased in favour of students from high socioeconomic
20 backgrounds. On the other hand, the more individuals attached importance to universalism
21 values, the less biased their judgments tended to be in favour of students from
22 socioeconomically privileged backgrounds. Furthermore, if "Self-Enhancement" was
23 associated with the tendency to favour students from a high socioeconomic background,
24 $r(88)=.21$, $p<.05$, "Self-Transcendence" was associated with the tendency to favour students

1 from a low socioeconomic background, $r(88)=-.19, p=.07$. However, "Conservatism" and
2 "Openness to Change" were not associated with bias.

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

15 Discussion

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

22 Confirming this hypothesis and in agreement with many previous studies on the
23 influence of socioeconomic background (e.g., Darley & Gross, 1983; Van Matre et al., 2000),
24 results obtained in this study indicated that teachers predicted a better academic future for
25 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)
5 found no effect of socioeconomic background when they asked teachers directly whether they
6 would make differences based on student socioeconomic background. Teachers only judged a
7 student's skills differently based on a video that induced two different socioeconomic
8 backgrounds.

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

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

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

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

16 The result concerning the impact of political ideology is linked to system justification
17 theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003). System
18 justification theory reveals that the more individuals are right-wing-oriented, the more they
19 justify the system and society as it currently exists and the more they seek the status quo (Jost,
20 2006; Jost, Nosek, & Gosling, 2008). Individuals exhibiting stronger system-justification
21 tendencies in general believe that society is not necessarily perfect as it is, but it is still the
22 current system, with all its limitations, that works best or is the most well-organized. Living
23 in a world or a system perceived as unfair would cause anxiety for and be perceived as a
24 threat to the individual. Thus, in order to preserve a psychological balance, individuals are
25 deeply motivated to justify the extant system, all the more so since they would perceive that

1 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
4 change the way the system currently works (e.g., Jacquet, Dietrich, & Jost, 2014). This
5 adherence to the system may help explain why the more right-wing-oriented teachers will
6 more or less consciously predict that the more modest students will have less of a chance for
7 academic success.

8 Moreover, adherence to a right-wing political orientation, as we find in the present
9 study, is generally associated with a stronger attachment to power values and a weaker
10 attachment to universalism values (e.g., Barnea & Schwartz, 1998; Maio et al., 2003;
11 Schwartz, Caprara, & Vecchione, 2010; Thorisdottir, Jost, Liviatan, & Shrout, 2007). In turn,
12 these types of attachments are associated in the literature both with a greater tendency to
13 stereotype and a tendency to negatively evaluate dominated social groups or minorities (e.g.,
14 Feather, 2004). Power-oriented individuals find it normal for some social groups to be
15 dominated and remain at the bottom of the social ladder and for other social groups to be
16 dominant (Duckitt et al., 2002; Norman et al., 2010; Vescio, Gervais, Snyder, & Hoover,
17 2005). Thus, the study found that both political orientation and attachments to power or
18 universalism values were predictive (with a 12% variance) of judgment bias towards
19 disadvantaged students.

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

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

12 **Limitations and future research**

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

condition) showed that the main results remain significant (with the exception of power values)². Second, the student profiles presented were only male. A new study should focus on teacher predictions for students of both sexes. Furthermore, we tested the direct impact of teacher values and political orientation on the bias of success predictions based on student socioeconomic background. As values are antecedents of political orientation, we should test in the future the hypothesis that teacher values can predict judgment bias towards students from a disadvantaged socioeconomic background with political orientation as a mediator. Finally, the correlations between political orientation and power values or universalism values in this study are relatively weak. This weakness could be explained by the one-dimensional 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). Thus, new studies that take these limitations into account need to be conducted in order to better understand the influence of values and political orientation on teacher judgments towards students of different socioeconomic backgrounds.

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 thinking about their actions and their consequences in certain social situations, they will also at times have to react quickly to social situations and to automatically process a large amount 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).

² 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.

Implicit measures have recently been developed to study automatic processes (e.g., Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). Implicit measures interact with explicit measures and predict behaviours more powerfully than explicit measures alone (e.g., Kurdi et al., 2018). In the present study, we measured only deliberate or explicit teacher decisions. But implicit measures have been used recently to study teacher expectations based on student socioeconomic background (e.g., Bonefeld & Dickhäuser, 2018; Glock & Karbach, 2015; Glock & Klapproth, 2017). As we find that explicit teacher political orientation and values are associated with different explicit expectations depending on student socioeconomic background, future research should test whether an implicit measure of political orientation (Choma & Hafer, 2009) could both be associated with an implicit attachment to power values (Souchon et al, 2017) and the tendency to implicitly associate students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds with lower academic skills than students from higher socioeconomic backgrounds, or to act less supportively towards these students.

Finally, all school evaluation has a subjective dimension. It would be interesting to test in a natural (ecological) context whether implicit and explicit teacher political orientation and their implicit and explicit power and universalism values can predict the grades given to students from different socioeconomic backgrounds. Studies including both implicit and explicit measures to capture teacher cognitions and behaviours are very recent (e.g., Bonefeld & Dickhäuser, 2018). These new measures, associated with political orientation and values measures, could provide a better understanding of teacher activity in these situations.

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1 **Table 1.**

2 Conceptual Definitions of 10 Basic Values

Values	Motivational goals	Items examples
Self-direction	Independent thought and action: choosing, creating, exploring	creativity, freedom, independent, curious, choosing own goals
Stimulation	Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life	varied life, daring, an exciting life
Hedonism	Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself.	pleasure, enjoying life
Achievement	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 frequent personal contact	honest, loyal, helpful, forgiving, responsible
Universalism	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

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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

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. + $p < .10$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Table 4.

Regression analysis: general bias prediction

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

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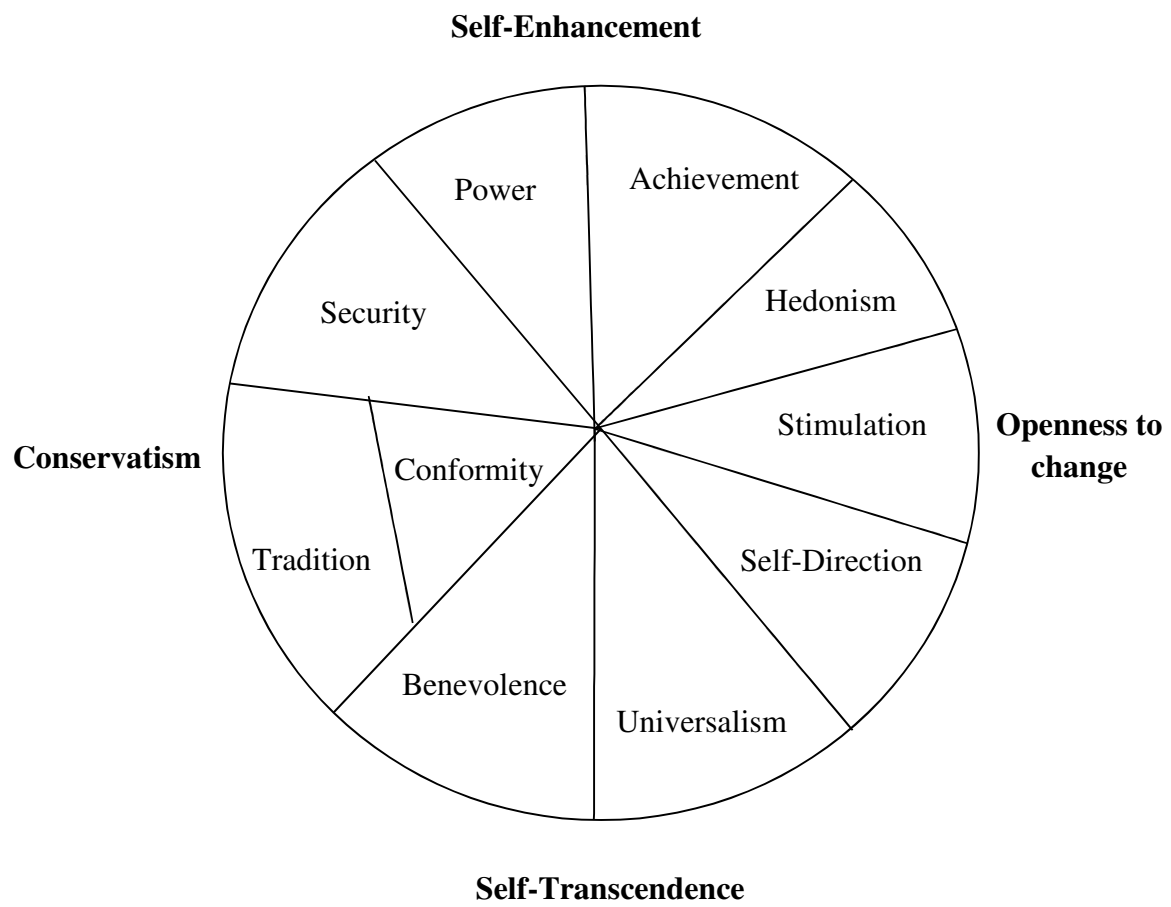


Figure 1.

Motivational relations between values according to Schwartz's model