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Enhancing or Reducing Interethnic Hierarchies? Teacher Diversity Approaches and Ethnic Majority and Minority Students' Ethnic Attitudes and Discrimination Experiences

--Manuscript Draft--

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Abstract:	Diversity approaches in school may affect students' interethnic relations, but are often only assessed through students' perceptions. We related teacher-reported diversity approaches (assimilationism, multiculturalism, color-evasion, intervening with discrimination) to ethnic majority and minority students' ethnic attitudes as well as to their experiences or perceptions of ethnic discrimination. We also explored students' perceptions of teacher approaches as hypothetical mediators of teacher effects on interethnic relations. We coupled survey data from N = 547 teachers (M age = 39.02 years, 70% female) in 64 schools in Belgium with large-scale longitudinal survey data from their students, N = 1287 Belgian majority students (M age =15.52, 51% female) and N = 696 Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students (M age = 15.92, 58% female), in the same schools (Phalet et al., 2018). Longitudinal multilevel models revealed that over time, teacher-reported assimilationism predicted (even) more positive attitudes towards Belgian majority members, and multiculturalism predicted less highly positive attitudes towards Belgian majority members among Belgian majority students. Teacher-reported intervening with discrimination predicted more perceived discrimination of ethnic minority students over time among Belgian majority students. We did not find significant longitudinal effects of teachers' diversity approaches with Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students' ethnic attitudes, nor with their discrimination experiences or perceptions. We conclude that teachers' multiculturalism and anti-discrimination approaches reduced interethnic bias and raised awareness of discrimination among ethnic majority students. However, different perceptions by teachers and students suggest the need for schools to better communicate inclusive diversity approaches.

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May 16th, 2022

Dear Prof. Albers, dear Prof. Collins,

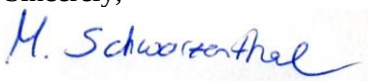
Also on behalf of my co-authors, I would like to thank you very much for the invitation to revise and resubmit our manuscript "Enhancing or Reducing Interethnic Hierarchies? Teacher-Reported Diversity Approaches and Ethnic Majority and Minority Students' Interethnic Relations" now titled "Enhancing or Reducing Interethnic Hierarchies? Teacher Diversity Approaches and Ethnic Majority and Minority Students' Ethnic Attitudes and Discrimination Experiences" (Ms. Ref. No.: 20-TC010922-452), for consideration in the *Journal of School Psychology.*

We were very grateful to receive such encouraging and constructive feedback from you and the reviewers. Attached is a revised version in which we addressed the issues raised by you and the reviewers, as well as a response letter in which we detail how we addressed every comment.

In particular, we have documented further the reliability and validity of composite scales and we discuss the substantive and methodological soundness of our factor analysis identifying the four teacher diversity approaches. We now highlight the relevance for school psychologists and educational practitioners alike by outlining more detailed practical implications in the revised discussion section.

We hope that we could address the concerns to your complete satisfaction and look forward to receiving your feedback on the revised version of the manuscript.

Sincerely,



Miriam Schwarzenthal

Dear Prof. Collins, dear Reviewers,

We would like to thank you very much for your invitation to revise and resubmit our manuscript "Enhancing or Reducing Interethnic Hierarchies? Teacher-Reported Diversity Approaches and Ethnic Majority and Minority Students' Interethnic Relations" now titled "Enhancing or Reducing Interethnic Hierarchies? Teacher Diversity Approaches and Ethnic Majority and Minority Students' Ethnic Attitudes and Discrimination Experiences" (Ms. Ref. No.: 20-TC010922-452), for consideration in the *Journal of School Psychology.*

We really appreciated the constructive and supportive feedback we received from you and the reviewers, which allowed us to significantly improve the manuscript. Attached is a revised version in which we addressed the issues you and the reviewers raised. We have copied, pasted and numbered the reviewers' comments below, and responded to each one individually.

We hope you will find the paper sufficiently improved for publication in the Journal of School Psychology and look forward to your editorial decision.

Best regards,

The Authors

Editor

Editor's comment 1: […] Reviewers noted strengths of the manuscript, including its relevance and timeliness, as well as the quality of writing. Some concerns were also noted, including questions around the factor analysis, instrumentation, and relevance for school psychology. […]

Our response: We appreciate your encouraging comments and your main concerns. We have documented further the reliability and validity of composite scales and we discussed the substantive and methodological soundness of our factor analysis identifying the four teacher diversity approaches (see editor's comment 7). We now highlight the relevance for school psychologists and educational practitioners alike by outlining more detailed practical implications in the revised discussion section.

Editor's comment 2: The authors state on page 3 that teachers model appropriate intergroup behaviors, but this is not always true. Please edit the language to more accurately reflect that teachers model intergroup behaviors that can be appropriate or inappropriate.

Our response: We reworded the sentence and took out "appropriate":

'They do not only promote academic competences, but also model interpersonal and intergroup behaviors (Wentzel & Looney, 2007).' (p.3)

Editor's comment 3: The authors discuss that adolescence is an important time for ethnic identity development, but it's not clear why social interactions would have a more pronounced effect on ethnic identity development in adolescence rather than childhood (when ethnic identity is first developing). I think the importance of adolescence can be discussed without positioning it as the most critical time for ethnic identity development.

Our response: We agree and qualified our wordings accordingly:

'Teachers should play an important role for students' interethnic relations during adolescence, since the school environment is a key socialization context for adolescents as distinct from the family context (Aldana & Byrd, 2015); and interethnic attitudes are highly sensitive to the social context at this time (Nesdale, 2004; Raabe & Beelmann, 2011).' (p.3)

'Adolescence is an important time for forming interethnic relations.' (p.5)

Editor's comment 4: Relatedly, the focus on teachers' views of their own diversity approaches needs to be teased apart a bit more. It's unclear why the authors chose to center teachers' opinions of themselves rather than using this as a potential moderator or mediator, while centering student's experiences of teachers' diversity approaches as the primary variable. The authors note that teachers are seen as an authority on intergroup relations, which may or may not be true. Teachers are also part of the school's approach to diversity, but they do not represent the entire school's approach.

Our response: To avoid misunderstandings, the revised introduction and discussion sections now explicate more fully methodological, conceptual and practical rationales for our primary focus on teacher perspectives and how they are distinct from student perceptions (which we did include as possible mediators) and from the entire school's approach:

'Most previous research has examined school diversity approaches through student perceptions (e.g., Baysu et al., 2016; Heikamp et al., 2020; Schachner et al., 2016, Schwarzenthal et al., 2018, 2020). While student perceptions of teacher approaches show consistent associations with student adjustment and interethnic relations, these associations may be driven in part by social projection of students' own attitudes onto their teachers (Thijs & Zee, 2019) or be inflated by common methods bias (Podsakoff et al., 2003). Also theoretically, teachers might also model students' interethnic relations without students being consciously aware of teacher approaches (cf. the "invisible hand of the teacher"; Kindermann, 2011). From an applied angle, investigating how teacher-reported approaches relate to students' interethnic relations may offer valuable insights for teacher training, inviting critical reflection on how what teachers think they are doing or saying may be seen by their students. Complementing previous research and in view of its theoretical and practical relevance, therefore, this study examines teachers' perspective on their own diversity approaches.' (p. 8).

'Our study takes a multi-level approach of interethnic relations in schools and conceives of teacher-reported diversity approaches as a contextual factor. To this end, we aggregated teacher perceptions at the school level and coupled these with individual-level student perceptions and outcomes in the same schools. Diversity practices as reported by teachers vary significantly between Belgian schools (Agirdag et al., 2016). As secondary school students have many teachers teaching different subjects, we are less interested here in teachers' individual diversity approaches than in their normative role as socialization agents whose views add up to inform different school climates. In line with this reasoning, intra-class correlations (ICCs) of teacher diversity approaches at the school level were significant ($ICC_{assimilation}$ = .10, $ICC_{color\text{-}evasion}$ = .04, $ICC_{multiculturalism}$=.05, $ICC_{intervening\ with\ discrimination}$ = .08). We acknowledge that teacher approaches are only one perspective (among others) on school diversity climates. Furthermore, we do not assume that teacher approaches are consensual within schools, nor do they need to coincide with either student perceptions or school policies.' (p. 18)

'Future research should investigate further to what extent teachers "practice what they preach" (Geerlings et al., 2019), also in light of known 'principle- implementation gaps' in dealing with diversity issues more generally (Dixon et al., 2017). More specifically, teacher reports may be supplemented with other school-level data, such as observations of teachers' actual diversity practices, diversity-related messages or rules in school policy documents (Celeste et al., 2019), or diversity cues in the physical school environment (Civitillo et al., 2016).' (p. 41)

Editor's comment 5: Reviewer 1 notes that the authors should be clear throughout the manuscript when discussing whether variables are student- or teacher-reported. For example, when discussing diversity approaches, the authors should always include some indication of teacher-reported diversity approaches.

Our response: As suggested, we added this information in the revised introduction, methods and results sections, including tables.

Editor's comment 6: Please define what intervening with discrimination means in the introduction. Does this include preventing issues of discrimination, or would that fall under multiculturalism?

Our response: We added a sentence defining what we mean by intervening with discrimination:

'Intervening with discrimination refers to what teachers (think they) say or do to condemn or sanction discriminatory comments, behaviors, or incidents in class, for example explicitly telling students not to discriminate on grounds of ethnic background or heritage, or actively intervening to stop or correct discriminatory interactions in class.' (p.12-13)

Editor's comment 7: I agree with Reviewer 3 that more information is needed on the survey scales, as the authors created four factors from eleven items. Much more information is needed on the reliability of these scales and research is needed to support this methodology.

Our response: As requested, we give full information about the factor analyses and the reliability of our measures of teacher diversity approaches and we acknowledge data constraints due to the small number of indicators. Augmenting longitudinal and multi-level CILS survey data (Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study) among large-scale stratified random samples of both majority and minority students (N=2613) with teacher data of their class mentors (N=547) across 64 schools, our study relies on secondary data that are strong on ecological validity, yet limited in the numbers of indicators that can be used to establish the construct validity of our measures. Against this background, we validated theory-informed distinctions between four teacher diversity approaches by way of exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses starting from 11 available indicators, of which 9 could be retained to construct composite indices of distinct approaches.

While we would ideally need more indicators to reliably distinguish four diversity approaches, principal component analyses (PCAs) in SPSS and exploratory (EFAs) and confirmatory factor analyses (CFAs) in MPlus converged on theoretically sound and empirically most viable four-factor solutions. Alternate one- , two-, or three-factor solutions showed either unacceptable fit indices or problematic cross-loadings. According to Watkins (2018) overfactoring (i.e., selecting too many factors) generally alters the solution less than underfactoring (i.e,. selecting less factors), since underfactoring may falsely combine specific

factors into one common factor. After removing two indicators that did not clearly load on any factor in PCA's (see below for more detail), CFA's with the remaining 11 indicators thus yielded the theoretically expected four-factor solution with adequate fit: $\chi^2 = 80.21$, df=21, CFI = .93, RMSEA = .07, SRMR = .05.

For your information, Table A below shows an alternate three-factor solution with problematic cross-loadings (highlighted in red) for 4 indicators loading on a first component which confounds acting against discrimination with assimilationism. More detailed information on EFAs and CFAs and complete factor loadings in our final CFA were added as supplemental materials (A).

Table A. *Factor loadings in 3-factor solution of teacher diversity approaches: Exploratory Factor Analysis*

	Geomin-rotated loadings		
	1	2	3
I take firm action against racism and discrimination in class	0.360*	0.175	0.117*
I tell my students they should not discriminate fellow students with a different cultural background or origin	0.687*	0.146	0.012
I talk to my students about racism and discrimination	0.346*	0.476*	-0.049
I use teaching materials in which social and cultural diversity are covered	0.202*	0.519*	-0.070
I find it important to take the cultural background of students into account	-0.007	0.569*	-0.155*
I expect Belgian students to try to learn from the customs and values of students with a different cultural background	-0.119	0.818*	0.027
I pay attention to cultural diversity with students in a positive way	0.029	0.857*	0.047
I expect students with a different cultural background other than Belgian to behave like all other students	0.393*	0.005	0.319*
I expect students with a different cultural background other than Belgian to adapt to Belgian customs	0.322*	-0.203*	0.335*
I treat students as individuals and pay as little attention as possible to their cultural background	-0.181*	0.007	0.727*
I don't consider the cultural background of students, but only their performance	0.000	-0.058	0.653*

Note. *p<.05, problematic cross-loadings are marked in red

The limited number of indicators to construct composite indices of distinct teacher approaches has consequences for their reliability. While the use of such composites is common practice in survey research (e.g., Baysu et al., 2016), it inevitably comes at the cost of lower reliability coefficients (Eisinga et al., 2012; Watkins, 2018). Yet, acceptable cutoff values for reliability coefficients depend on how a measure is being used in research ("one size does not fit all"; Cho & Kim, 2015, p. 218). For exploratory studies like ours, values around 0.60 are seen as acceptable (Hair et al., 2010); and caution is warranted against applying fixed cutoff criteria at all (Cho & Kim, 2015). Moreover, our study aggregates teacher approaches at the school level, thus increasing the reliability of our measures by averaging individual scores over multiple ‚raters'. Consequently, we are less concerned with individual-level reliability than with reliability at the contextual level.

Against this background, the revised methods section now provides more detail on how we established construct validity and documented reliability of the measures of teacher diversity approaches. In addition, the revised discussion acknowledges limitations and future directions to increase reliability.

'To validate distinct theoretically informed teacher diversity approaches, we subsequently conducted Exploratory Factor Analyses (EFA) on all 11 indicators in our data and

Confirmatory Factor Analyses (CFA) with 9 retained indicators. The analyses yielded empirically fitting and theoretically sound four-factor solutions, suggesting distinct teacher diversity approaches of Assimilationism, Multiculturalism, Color-Evasion, and Intervening with Discrimination. CFA showed adequate fit of a final four-factor model (χ^2 = 80.21, df=21, CFI = .93, RMSEA = .07, SRMR = .05). The four factors closely mirror distinct diversity approaches that have been identified in previous research on diversity approaches of Belgian schools (Celeste et al., 2019). Alternate one- to three-factor solutions showed inadequate fit or problematic cross-loadings (Watkins, 2018; see Supplemental Materials A for more detailed information). Two indicators were omitted from final CFA because they did not load sufficiently distinctly on any single factor in preliminary EFAs. Specifically, we took out "I use teaching materials in which social and cultural diversity are covered" and "I talk to my students about racism and discrimination". Plausibly, these two indicators may primarily reflect the specific contents of (restricted) available teaching materials or the specific subjects being taught rather than teachers' diversity approaches.' (p. 19-20)

' Following Eisinga et al. (2013), we reported Spearman-Brown reliability coefficients, which are more appropriate for two indicators than Cronbach's Alpha or Pearson correlations. The use of a limited number of indicators is common in survey research (e.g., Baysu et al., 2016) but inevitably comes at the cost of lower reliability (Eisinga et al., 2012; Watkins, 2018). However, acceptable cutoff values for reliability coefficients depend on how a measure is being used in research ("one size does not fit all"; Cho & Kim, 2015, p. 218; Hair et al., 2010) and since our study aggregates teacher approaches at the school level, increasing the reliability of our measures by averaging individual scores over multiple ‚raters', we are less concerned with individual-level reliability than with reliability at the contextual level.' (p. 20)

Moreover,

'Drawing on large-scale secondary CILS data in Belgium, we could only use 9 out of 11 available indicators to distinguish between teacher diversity approaches. Our four-factor solution successfully validated four theoretically coherent and distinct diversity approaches as reported by teachers (see Supplemental Materials A). While the use of composite indices of just two or three indicators based on CFA is common practice in large-scale survey research (e.g., Baysu et al, 2016), follow-up studies among school teachers may add more indicators of each approach to form more reliable subscales (Eisinga et al., 2012; Watkins, 2018).' (p. 41)

Editor's comment 8: It is unclear why the authors chose not to ask students about color-evasive and assimilationist approaches. Please clarify.

Our response: Unfortunately, the study relies on secondary data analysis and student perceptions of color-evasion and assimilationism were not available in CILS data (Kalter et al., 2018; Phalet et al., 2018). We now acknowledge this data limitation in the revised discussion:

'We acknowledge that the available measures of student perceptions in our data were limited and did not fully match our measures of teacher diversity approaches. Therefore, we can only draw preliminary conclusions about the (lack of) associations between teacher diversity approaches and student perceptions of these approaches. While the explanatory focus of this study was primarily on teacher-reported approaches, future research should throw more light on both ethnic majority and minority student perspectives and how they differ from teachers' perspectives by extending our measures of students' perceptions of teacher approaches (e.g.,

to what extent do they perceive teachers' assimilationist and color-evasive messages or practices in class?).' (p. 41)

Editor's comment 9: Please indicate whether these teachers and students were from the same schools, as it is not entirely clear that these are matched populations.

Our response: They are indeed. The revised methods section now clarifies the unique multilevel design of our data and study:

‚The present study couples teacher data from class mentors in wave 2 with data from students attending the same schools from waves 2 and 3.' (p. 17)

Editor's comment 10: For each of the measures, please provide psychometric properties, as well as where the items came from. Are these established measures, or were these items created for this work? If so, development information is critical.

Our response:

We expanded the information reported about the measures as follows:

Items	**Source currently reported**	**Psychometrics reported in previous version**	**Additional information now reported**
Teacher diversity approaches (initially 11 items)	Adapted from Meeussen et al. (2014)	Reliabilities CFA results	Extended with assimilationism and anti-discrimination approaches as distinct from multiculturalism and color-evasion approaches (cf. Celeste et al., 2019)
Student ethnic attitudes (feeling thermometer)	Esses et al., 1993	None (Single indicators for Turkish or Moroccan minority and Belgian majority groups as attitude objects)	Adapted from same measure in international Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study and adjusted to major ethnic categories in Belgium (cf. Kalter et al., 2018; Phalet et al., 2018)
Student ethnic discrimination experiences and perceptions	Adapted from discrimination measure in international 'The Integration of the European Second	None (Two single indicators for personal experiences and perceptions of group-level discrimination)	Validated by Heikamp et al. (2020)

	Generation' surveys [TIES, 2008]		
Student perceptions of diversity approaches	Based on Green et al., 1988; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2010	Reliability reported for the two-item student-perception of class teachers intervening with discrimination scale	Validated by Heikamp et al, 2020 (for perceived multiculturalism); Baysu et al, 2016 (for perceived equal treatment)

Editor's comment 11: The fact that teachers' ethnicity was not included in the analyses is a major limitation of this study. I would anticipate that teachers' ethnicity would moderate or mediate many of these relationships.

Our response: This limitation is now acknowledged and descriptive information is added in the revised discussion:

'While teachers' own ethnic background may affect how their diversity approaches are perceived by ethnic minority and majority students, due to small numbers of teachers of non-Western heritage (N=30) our data did not allow us to analyze this subgroup separately. Given the continuingunderrepresentation of ethnic minorities in the teaching force, follow-up research should specifically target ethnic minority teachers to better understand the role of ethnic congruence in teacher-student relations.' (p. 41-42)

Editor's comment 12: It would also be interesting to determine whether there were biases/prejudice between the Turkish and Moroccan groups. This may be a topic for future study.

Our response: We completely agree that this would be very interesting. However, it is beyond the scope of the present study and data. We will keep this in mind for potential future studies.

Editor's comment 13: A power analysis is needed, especially given the comments about inadequate power in the discussion.

Our response: Since we used secondary CILS data, we did not run a priori power analyses. We drew on Arend and Schäfer's (2019) recent simulation study to obtain a post-hoc estimate of the statistical power of our study. As suggested, we added this information and acknowledge that especially the analysis of school effects on minority subsamples might be slightly underpowered (see revised discussion and additional footnote):

'In spite of large student samples, the number of schools as contextual units was rather small, particularly for detecting contextual effects of school-level teacher approaches in Turkish- or Moroccan-origin student subsamples, as suggested by post-hoc power analysis (cf. Arend and Schäfer, 2019).' (p. 39)

'Specifically, in our study, the aim was to detect a direct effect at L2 (i.e., the school level). According to Arend and Schäfer's (2019, p. 15) simulation results, in our ethnic minority subsample, based on a sample size of 52 at L2, an average number of 13 students per cluster, and a small ICC, our analysis was able to detect a minimum effect size of .48 at a power of .80. Among our ethnic majority subsample, based on a sample size of 62 at L2, an average

number of 20 students per cluster, and small to medium ICCs, our analyses were able to detect effect sizes of .37 to.42 at a power of .80. In previous research investigating relations between school diversity approaches and student intergroup relations (Schwarzenthal et al., 2018), standardized regression coefficients of ≈.30 were observed at the classroom level.' (Footnote on p. 39)

Editor's comment 14: Please report response rates and discuss nonresponse bias (Reviewer 3).

Our response: We added a footnote with the requested information on initial response rates and we refer to the attrition analyses (on p. 26) for information on longitudinal nonresponse:

'In waves 2 and 3 of the Belgian CILS surveys (which are used in this study) cross-sectional response rates were high at 85.2% and 81.9% of sampled students respectively; and longitudinal attrition in wave 3 was 24,1% of the effective student sample in wave 2 (cf. Phalet et al., 20xx). Most common reasons for non-response were illness, parental refusal to have their children participate, students who changed schools or classes within a school, or absence from class due to other school activities. Reasons for student nonresponse do not suggest strong selection biases. Teacher data was available for 58 out of 76 schools (76.3%), and for 481 out of 763 sampled teachers (63%). Reasons for non-response were not recorded. However, since only class mentors were eligible to participate, their questionnaires were most often collected separately from student data collection, which may explain why some teachers could not be reached or motivated to fill out the questionnaires.' (p. 17)

Editor's comment 15: The item about respectful treatment doesn't seem to be limited to teacher behavior. Please clarify if this was intended.

Our response: The wording does not explicitly refer to teachers, yet we used what was available in (secondary) CILS data to explore the role of student perceptions of diversity approaches in additional analyses. While our primary focus was on teacher diversity approaches, we still think that this (less than ideal) measure of student perceptions is sufficiently informative to include the additional analysis of student perceptions in the paper.

Editor's comment 16: Please provide more information on the decision rule around 60% for minority students in schools (Reviewer 3).

Our response: The revised methods section now clarifies that the 60% cutoff is based on a stratified school-based sampling design oversampling schools with more ethnic minority students in international CILS data.

‚School ethnic composition was indicated by a dummy variable identifying schools with over 60% students speaking a foreign language at home. This indicator draws on available administrative school data from the Ministry of Education, which was used to oversample schools with many ethnic minority students in accordance with the internationally standardized stratified random sampling design of the CILS surveys (Kalter et al., 2018; Phalet et al, 2018). Over 60% numerical majority status shifts to ethnic minority students with known consequences for interethnic relations in schools (Baysu et al., 2014; Graham, 2006).' (p. 23).

Editor's comment 17: Please provide more information about the use of foreign language at home (rather than ethnic status) as the indicator for school diversity. Do we have data to show

that the Turkish and Moroccan groups were the largest ethnic minority groups in these schools? If not, this variable may be misleading.

Our response: Please see our response to editor's comment 16 on language spoken at home as proxy for ethnic minority status in Belgian schools. In spite of rapidly diversifying immigration in Europe, Turkish- and Moroccan-origin communities are indeed the largest ethnic minority populations in Belgium; and students of Turkish and Moroccan origin are still the largest minority groups in Belgian schools (Phalet et al., 2007).

Editor's comment 18: The discussion section addresses issues with teachers' reported intervention with discrimination and students' perceptions. The authors do not address the fact that teachers can intervene poorly, as well as the fact that teachers can engage in prejudiced behaviors. These discussions are missing from this section.

Our response: We agree and added a critical note on the role of teachers in the revised discussion:

'The dissociation of teacher and student perceptions of diversity approaches in school may have several reasons: […] Fourth, even if teachers do perceive instances of racism or discrimination, they may intervene poorly or may themselves reinforce discriminatory treatment with detrimental effects on ethnic minority students' adjustment (Verkuyten, Thijs, & Gharaei, 2019).' (p. 40)

Editor's comment 19: Reviewer 3 requests additional information on the dependent variables and scaling.

Our response: We added headers to the measures section specifying which variables are predictors, mediators, and outcome variables.

Number of items, response scales, as well as final scores used (school-level mean scores vs. individual scores) are described in the revised measures section. We also added the range of all variables to Table 1.

Editor's comment 20: I agree with Reviewer 1 that the lack of external validation of teachers' diversity approaches is a limitation that should be addressed.

Our response: We now acknowledge the need for further external validation in the revised discussion:

Future research should investigate further to what extent teachers "practice what they preach" (Geerlings et al., 2019), also in light of known 'principle- implementation gaps' in dealing with diversity issues more generally (Dixon et al., 2017). More specifically, teacher reports may be supplemented with other school-level data, such as observations of teachers' actual diversity practices, diversity-related messages or rules in school policy documents (Celeste et al., 2019), or diversity cues in the physical school environment (Civitillo et al., 2016).' (p. 41)

Editor's comment 21: As this is the Journal of School Psychology, this work would need to be situated within the role of school psychologists. Please discuss the implications of this work for the field.

Our response: As suggested, we additionally discussed implications of our findings for school psychologists (see revised discussion):

'... our findings are of particular relevance for school psychologists. Negative attitudes and resulting discrimination experiences have detrimental effects on ethnic minority students' academic and socioemotional adjustment (Hughes et al., 2016). To prevent negative adjustment and to promote students' school engagement and well-being, school psychologists may support teachers in engaging in self-reflection on their own diversity approaches and potential consequences for ethnic minority and majority students and interethnic relations in their classrooms. As teachers' active interventions with discrimination were associated with more awareness of discrimination among the ethnic majority students in our study, school psychologists may also offer workshops discussing incidents of discrimination with students, or train teachers how to best respond to discriminatory interactions or incidents in class, or how to promote ethnic majority students' critical awareness, and possibly encourage them to act as allies to ethnic minority students when they are targets of discrimination. Moreover, school psychologists may develop collaborative and participatory meetings where teachers and students exchange views on a school's diversity approach, and join forces to challenge interethnic hierarchies in the school context.'(p. 43)

Editor's comment 22: Related to the above point, the implications of this work can dive a lot deeper. How do we center minority students' voices in schools? What implications does this work have for how schools should engage in efforts to develop positive school climate around ethnicity?

Our response: Thank you for this opportunity to discuss applied implications for empowering minority students in some more depth (see revised discussion):

'...students' with different ethnic backgrounds could be actively involved in developing a school's diversity approach. Teachers may be encouraged to actively ask their (ethnic minority) students about their perspectives on a school's diversity approach (i.e., to engage in "perspective-getting", Eyal et al., 2018). Going even further, participatory approaches such as youth participatory action research (YPAR; Aldana & Richards-Schuster, 2021) may be drawn upon to further develop a school's diversity approach. These approaches acknowledge that youth are experts in their own lives and possess the ability to identify problems and possible solutions in their social environment. Using participatory approaches could help reduce existing hierarchies between teachers and students, and turn teachers into allies and mentors who help to elevate the voices of diverse youth.' (p. 42-43)

Editor's comment 23: I'm wondering if the title and abstract could be edited to better reflect the study. Specifically, the primary dependent variable is experiences of discrimination, not intergroup relations broadly.

Our response: To better represent minority as well as majority sides of interethnic relations in our title, we replaced the umbrella term 'interethnic relations' by 'discrimination experiences and ethnic attitudes'. The revised title now reads:

'Enhancing or Reducing Interethnic Hierarchies? Teacher Diversity Approaches and Ethnic Majority and Minority Students' Ethnic Attitudes and Discrimination Experiences'

Reviewer 1

Reviewer 1 Comment 1: Thank you for your manuscript titled, "Enhancing or Reducing Interethnic Hierarchies? Teacher-Reported Diversity Approaches and Ethnic Majority and Minority Students' Interethnic Relations". While the themes are relevant to all educators, I kept coming back to a question about how this study can be made more relevant for school psychologists specifically. Of course the topic is of interest but what can a school psychologist do in their role to support teachers to create more inclusive classrooms and to engage in anti-racists discussions?

Our response: Please see our response to the editor's comment 21.

Reviewer 1 Comment 2: I think the opening paragraph can start even from a more basic introduction of what you mean by intergroup and listing the various types of group characteristics beyond ethnicity that you're referring to.

Our response: We now provide several examples for groups in the opening paragraph:

Schools are microcosms of society and among the first contexts in which children experience intergroup interactions and form intergroup relations (e.g., with students of various socioeconomic status, sexual orientations, abilities, or ethnicities). (p. 3)

Reviewer 1 Comment 3: On page 6 the last sentence of the second paragraph may need to be edited for clarity. You state that the second aim is to assess diversity approaches. It seems that you're assessing teacher perceptions of diversity approaches instead.

Our response: We edited the sentence accordingly. It now reads:

Thus, our second aim is to assess teacher-reported diversity practices and to aggregate these views as a contextual measure of diversity approaches across schools. (p. 4)

Reviewer 1 Comment 4: On page 13 the term 'diversity management' is introduced and comes off negative without an operational definition. Earlier in the same section 'diversity approaches' is used and that seems to work better but the term still seems insufficient. I think in the U.S. we would probably label what you're talking about as 'culturally supportive' or 'culturally responsive' instruction/classroom practices.

Our response: To avoid introducing yet another term, we now replaced the term "diversity management" with "diversity approaches". We agree that culturally responsive instruction or classroom practices may constitute one diversity approach, in particular, they would be closest to what we termed "multiculturalism" in our paper. However, we chose the umbrella term "diversity approaches" throughout the paper to capture a range of approaches that may reject, ignore, or value cultural diversity (i.e., assimilationism, color-evasion, multiculturalism).

Reviewer 1 Comment 5: There is still a lack of experimental research in the area, but I would still encourage use to see if that of research could be helpful here

Our response: We agree that citing experimental research may provide additional support for our arguments and thus now refer to a study involving a quasi-experiment in the school context:

Similarly, in educational contexts, shared student perceptions of multiculturalism predicted more positive interethnic attitudes and less interethnic bias among both ethnic majority and majority students in the Netherlands (for a review, see Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013) and in Germany (Schwarzenthal et al., 2018). Since this association was not found over time, it may partially reflect a projection of students' own ethnic attitudes onto the perceived classroom climate (Geerlings et al., 2019). However, in an intervention study, students who were encouraged to engage with their own and others' cultural identities showed more positive orientations towards other groups, mediated by a more cohesive global identity (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2018), suggesting that the positive association between multiculturalism and attitudes cannot merely be explained with projection effects. (p. 10).

Reviewer 1 Comment 6: I would have liked for Figure 1 to be introduced much earlier in the section.

Our response: We now refer to Figure 1 much earlier, after the opening sections of the introduction on p. 5.

Reviewer 1 Comment 7: Overall, the introduction is well-written but long and seemed that the sections on each of the 4 school traits could be shortened.

Our response: We went through the whole introduction again and shortened wherever possible.

Reviewer 1 Comment 8: I don't think that the number of schools is a limitation of your study instead I recommend including that your study lacks any external verification of teacher reported practices. I could see sending in research assistants to do observations to verify that for example, multicultural practices are being employed. Permanent products such as culturally inclusive posters can be noted, calendars with a range of religious and cultural holidays can be observed. Even asking to see a school's policy handbook can be evaluated in addition to more tradition instructional observations. Thank you for your work.

Our response: We thank the reviewer for this important comment. Please see our response to the editor's comment 20.

Reviewer 2

Reviewer 2 Comment 1: Thank you for the opportunity to review this manuscript. I have minimal feedback on the manuscript, as I thought it was well-written, incorporated up-to-date terminology, and expanded on past literature on teacher diversity approaches and student perceptions/experiences in an important way.

Our response: We thank the reviewer for these very encouraging and supportive comments on our manuscript!

Reviewer 3

Reviewer 3 Comment 1: The introduction and literature review are organized well and seem to support the proposed research questions, but I won't comment on the significance of the topic itself or the extent to which this study extends the literature, as I do not follow this literature. Instead, my review focuses on the methods and results, where I have two main concerns.

1. I am not confident in the stability of your survey scales (dependent and independent variables), and thus am not confident in your models/analyses as currently presented. I recommend that you reconsider the extraction of four factors from eleven survey items, as well as the modeling of any factor (as independent or dependent variable) represented by only two items and/or with reliability below 0.60.

Our response: We thank the reviewer for the positive comments on our introduction and literature review. For more information regarding the stability of the survey scales, please see our response to the editor's comment 7.

Reviewer 3 Comment 2: 2. The number of models and variables leads to an overwhelming amount of information that needs to be presented more clearly, eg, by introducing some economical abbreviations, being more thoughtful about labeling/distinguishing between different instances of perception/attitude/culture/discrimination, and/or simply reducing the number of variables and/or models considered.

Our response:

We made the following changes to reduce and clarify the information presented in the text:

- We went through the results section again and made sure that we are consistent with our terminology throughout.
- We refrained from using abbreviations since from our perception, abbreviations often make the text harder to read.
- We shortened the section on the exploratory mediation analyses substantially.
- We shifted the attrition analyses to the supplementary materials and only report the most important findings in the text.
- We restructured the results section to more closely follow the structure of the introduction and the discussion section.

Reviewer 3 Comment 3: Here are some additional questions and comments to consider in a revision.

You should report response rates for teachers and students. I see sample sizes but not rates relative to how many teachers and students were recruited. I also don't see a discussion of nonresponse bias. These issues may be addressed in the Phalet article, but they should at least be summarized briefly here.

Our response: Please see our response to the editor's comment 14.

Reviewer 3 Comment 4: On page 18, Teacher Diversity Approaches, are you summarizing EFA/CFA results conducted elsewhere, or are these your own analyses?

Our response: We conducted the EFA and CFA ourselves. To make clearer that we conducted these analyses ourselves, we now refer to these analyses in the active form (i.e. "We conducted…").

Reviewer 3 Comment 5: Also page 18, Teacher Diversity Approaches, I see that your fit indices are adequate, but it is generally not recommended to calculate and interpret factor scores across four factors with so few items. Reliabilities are also too low to support

interpretation. If you feel these decisions are defensible, a strong rationale with references supporting your decisions would be needed.

Our response: Please see our response to editor's comment 7.

Reviewer 3 Comment 6: Can you provide more information about your choice of 60% as a cutoff? You say it "seems relevant…" but what makes 60 more appropriate than 50 or 40? How might results have changed with a different cutoff? And how is ethnic composition distributed by school? Where does the average composition fall in the population of schools and in your sample of schools?

Our response: Please see our response to the editor's comment 16.

Reviewer 3 Comment 7: Models should be presented via formula. In the interest of space you could present one full model, and then summarize how the others would vary. Corresponding notation should be defined in text.

Our response: We refrained from inserting formulas into the text as this is not a common practice in our research domain, nor in this outlet.

Reviewer 3 Comment 8: What are the dependent variables, and what is the scaling for each dependent variable? Did you use individual survey items, summed scores, or factor scores? And how were each distributed? The remaining results are difficult to interpret without this information.

Our response: Please see our response to the editor's comment 19.

Reviewer 3 Comment 9: Page 26 and elsewhere, the subscripts on R2 are too long and I expect will be difficult to read in print. You may as well put these into sentences in the text.

Our response: We removed all the long subscripts and integrated the information into sentences into the text as suggested by the reviewer.

Enhancing or Reducing Interethnic Hierarchies? Teacher Diversity Approaches and Ethnic Majority and Minority Students' Ethnic Attitudes and Discrimination Experiences

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Enhancing or Reducing Interethnic Hierarchies? Teacher Diversity Approaches and Ethnic Majority and Minority Students' Ethnic Attitudes and Discrimination Experiences

Abstract

Diversity approaches in school may affect students' interethnic relations, but are often only assessed through students' perceptions. We related teacher-reported diversity approaches (assimilationism, multiculturalism, color-evasion, intervening with discrimination) to ethnic majority and minority students' ethnic attitudes as well as to their experiences or perceptions of ethnic discrimination. We also explored students' perceptions of teacher approaches as hypothetical mediators of teacher effects on interethnic relations.

We coupled survey data from N = 547 teachers (M_{age} = 39.02 years, 70% female) in 64 schools in Belgium with large-scale longitudinal survey data from their students, N = 1287 Belgian majority students (M_{age}=15.52, 51% female) and N = 696 Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students (M_{age} = 15.92, 58% female), in the same schools (Phalet et al., 2018).

Longitudinal multilevel models revealed that over time, teacher-reported assimilationism predicted (even) more positive attitudes towards Belgian majority members, and multiculturalism predicted less highly positive attitudes towards Belgian majority members among Belgian majority students. Teacher-reported intervening with discrimination predicted more perceived discrimination of ethnic minority students over time among Belgian majority students. We did not find significant longitudinal effects of teachers' diversity approaches with Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students' ethnic attitudes, nor with their discrimination experiences or perceptions.

We conclude that teachers' multiculturalism and anti-discrimination approaches reduced interethnic bias and raised awareness of discrimination among ethnic majority students. However, different perceptions by teachers and students suggest the need for schools to better communicate inclusive diversity approaches.

Keywords: teachers, ethnic diversity, multiculturalism, assimilationism, discrimination, attitudes

Enhancing or Reducing Interethnic Hierarchies? Teacher Diversity Approaches and Ethnic Majority and Minority Students' Ethnic Attitudes and Discrimination Experiences

Schools are microcosms of society and among the first contexts in which children experience intergroup interactions and form intergroup relations (e.g., with students of various socioeconomic status, sexual orientations, abilities, or ethnicities). Within these contexts, teachers are central socialization agents. They do not only promote academic competences, but also model interpersonal and intergroup behaviors (Wentzel & Looney, 2007). In ethnically diverse schools, teachers also set norms for interethnic behaviors through the way they engage with the ethnic diversity of their student body. By modelling these behaviors, they are argued to impact their students' own interethnic relations (Mansouri & Jenkins, 2010). Teachers should play an important role for students' interethnic relations during adolescence, since the school environment is a key socialization context for adolescents as distinct from the family context (Aldana & Byrd, 2015); and interethnic attitudes are highly sensitive to the social context at this time (Nesdale, 2004; Raabe & Beelmann, 2011).

Teachers pursue different approaches to ethnic diversity which may have different implications for students' interethnic relations (Schachner, 2017). In continental Europe, common approaches to engaging with ethnic diversity in the school context are assimilationism, multiculturalism, and color-evasion (Celeste et al., 2019; Schachner, 2017). These approaches differ with regards to whether they reject, value, or ignore diversity (Guimond et al., 2014). We add on a distinct fourth approach – the degree to which teachers explicitly intervene with discrimination. Intervening with discrimination is commonly assumed to be a part of multicultural approaches theoretically (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013), but qualitative findings show that it is often not included in practice (Agirdag et al., 2016). In parallel, an empirically grounded critique of color-evasion is that it perpetuates (implicit) ethnic biases and inequities (Whitley & Webster, 2019), in direct contrast with an approach that promotes more equitable interethnic relations through intervening with discrimination. Thus, our first

aim is to investigate how these four teacher diversity approaches are associated with students' interethnic relations. While both ethnic attitudes and discrimination are studied under the heading of interethnic relations, the former have typically been the focus of research with ethnic majority members, whereas the latter are mainly studied among ethnic minority members (Benner et al., 2018; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). Our research bridges different group perspectives on interethnic relations by asking ethnic majority and minority students to evaluate members of both groups and to report their (personal) discrimination experiences and perceptions of (group) discrimination of ethnic minority members[1].

In most research associating school diversity approaches with students' interethnic relations, these approaches are assessed through student perceptions (with some exceptions, e.g., Baysu et al., 2020; Brown & Chu, 2012; Celeste et al., 2019; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013). While these perceptions are important predictors of students' interethnic relations (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013), they may also partially reflect a projection of students' own ethnic attitudes (Thijs & Zee, 2019). As teachers communicate school diversity approaches, their diversity practices represent institutional authority to students. Moreover, to adequately prepare teachers for teaching in ethnically diverse classrooms, it is important to take into account how their own perceived practices relate to student outcomes. Thus, our second aim is to assess teacher-reported diversity practices and to aggregate these views as a contextual measure of diversity approaches across schools.

Effects of teachers' diversity approaches on interethnic relations may differ between ethnic majority and minority students. Not only do ethnic attitudes and discrimination experiences and perceptions have a different meaning in both groups due to status differences in society. For ethnic minority students, the school is one of many contexts in which they learn

[1] The term 'ethnic minority members' refers to people who or whose parents originate outside of the country of residence. The term 'ethnic majority members' refers to students of local-born parentage with no other origin than that of the country of residence. These definitions of ethnic minority and majority status are commonly used in European migration contexts.

about ethnic diversity (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2012), while for ethnic majority students, it is often the main one. Thus, our third aim is to investigate whether teacher diversity approaches have different consequences for ethnic minority and majority views on interethnic relations.

One way that diversity norms expressed in a school context influence interethnic relations is through children's awareness and understanding of them (e.g., Tropp et al., 2016). Whether or not teacher-reported diversity approaches make a difference in students' inter-ethnic relations, may therefore depend on their perceptions of teachers' approaches. However, congruence between teacher and student perceptions of diversity approaches is generally low (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002), particularly among ethnic minority students (Civitillo et al., 2016). Thus, our fourth aim is to explore the role of student perceptions of teachers' diversity approaches in connecting those approaches to interethnic relations (for our comprehensive hypothetical model, please see Figure 1).

Ethnic Attitudes and Discrimination Among Ethnic Majority and Minority Students

Adolescence is an important time for forming interethnic relations. Youth become aware of their position in the wider society while simultaneously exploring - and seeking to socially validate - their own identity or sense of self. In today's ethnically diverse social world, identity development encompasses finding out what it means to be a member of a certain ethnic group (Phinney & Ong, 2007; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Along with the exploration of one's ethnic group memberships goes a heightened awareness of status inequality in interethnic relations between ethnic majority and minority groups and of structural discrimination that may disproportionally affect ethnic minority students' development (Brown, 2017; García Coll et al., 1996).

In accordance with social identity development theory, identity development entails a growing awareness of, and self-identification with, distinct social groups (Nesdale, 2004). De-pending on their ethnic majority or minority group positions in the wider society, students have different experiences of - and hence develop distinct views on - interethnic relations.

Ethnic majority members have rather less positive attitudes towards ethnic minority members, on average, than ethnic minority members have towards the ethnic majority (Leach & Livingstone, 2015). To improve interethnic relations, a strong research tradition on prejudice reduction in social psychology focuses on reducing ethnic majority members' interethnic bias, either by deflating favoritism towards ethnic majority members and/or by reducing derogation towards ethnic minority members (Dixon et al., 2010; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005).

On the other hand, ethnic minority students typically experience more discrimination in society than ethnic majority students, with detrimental effects on their academic, psychological, and behavioral adjustment (Hughes et al., 2016; Verkuyten et al., 2019). While personal discrimination experiences may undermine self-esteem, perceptions of (group) discrimination indicate an awareness of social inequity which may promote self-esteem, and may enable support for social change (Bourguignon et al., 2006; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). Acknowledging unequal treatment - and the structural and historical roots of social inequality - may protect ethnic minority members' adjustment and pride (positive attitudes towards ethnic minority members) through holding the ethnic majority group accountable (less positive attitudes towards ethnic majority members) (Diemer et al., 2016; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). Moreover, ethnic majority members can also develop an awareness of discrimination and become "allies" to the ethnic minority group (Hässler et al., 2020; Wright & Lubensky, 2009).

Summing up, ethnic attitudes, though typically studied among ethnic majority members, are also important for ethnic minority members, since positive attitudes towards members of their ethnic group protect their self-esteem and enable collective action for social change. Similarly, perceptions of discrimination, though typically studied among ethnic minority members, may also encourage ethnic majority members to become allies of minority group peers for social change. To improve our understanding of interethnic relations from both sides, therefore, we will assess all students' attitudes towards both ethnic minority and

majority members, as well as their (personal) discrimination experiences and their perceptions of (group) discrimination of ethnic minority group members.

Specifically, this study focuses on Turkish- and Moroccan-origin minority students in the Belgian context of migration and education, comparing their experiences to those of Belgian majority students in the same ethnically diverse Belgian schools. Turkish- and Moroccan-origin minority students are among the largest ethnic minority student populations in Belgian schools; and their school careers are marked by persistent educational disadvantage (Baysu & Phalet, 2012; Phalet & Swyngedouw, 2003). Moreover, they tend to be targets of anti-Muslim prejudice, as most of them are (seen as) Muslims (Strabac & Listhaug, 2008). Compared to their ethnic majority peers, Turkish- and Moroccan-origin minority students in Europe experience more racist name-calling (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002), more teacher rejection (Baysu et al., 2020), lower school belonging and lower grades (Celeste et al., 2019). Against this backdrop, school diversity approaches may affect them differently than ethnic majority students.

Teacher Diversity Approaches and Students' Interethnic Relations

Most previous research has examined school diversity approaches through student perceptions (e.g., Baysu et al., 2016; Heikamp et al., 2020; Schachner et al., 2016, Schwarzenthal et al., 2018, 2020). While student perceptions of teacher approaches show consistent associations with student adjustment and interethnic relations, these associations may be driven in part by social projection of students' own attitudes onto their teachers (Thijs & Zee, 2019) or be inflated by common methods bias (Podsakoff et al., 2003). Also theoretically, teachers might also model students' interethnic relations without students being consciously aware of teacher approaches (cf. the "invisible hand of the teacher"; Kindermann, 2011). From an applied angle, investigating how teacher-reported approaches relate to students' interethnic relations may offer valuable insights for teacher training, inviting critical reflection on how what teachers think they are doing or saying may be seen by their students.

Complementing previous research and in view of its theoretical and practical relevance, therefore, this study examines teachers' perspective on their own diversity approaches.

Teachers may communicate different school approaches to diversity, with assimilationism, multiculturalism, and color-evasion having been identified as being among the main approaches in European educational contexts (Celeste et al., 2019; Schachner, 2017). The approaches are not mutually exclusive. Instead, hybrid approaches are common in most schools (Celeste et al., 2019). In this study, we add a fourth approach that may uniquely contribute to students' interethnic relations: the degree to which teachers explicitly address racism and discrimination. We examine how these diversity approaches are associated with students' interethnic relations; and we distinguish between ethnic majority and minority students' perspectives on interethnic relations.

Assimilationism

Assimilationist approaches of diversity are based on the assumption that if ethnic minority members become culturally indistinguishable from ethnic majority members, they will be accepted as members of a common in-group so that prejudice and discrimination towards them will be reduced. However, in practice assimilation usually implies a unidirectional process in which ethnic minority members are expected to conform to the ethnic majority. Hence, assimilationist ideologies can be seen as inegalitarian and hierarchy-enhancing (for a review, see Guimond et al., 2014). In schools, assimilationist approaches of diversity may refer to restrictions on the expression of cultural differences, such as penalizing the use of a foreign mother tongue in the classroom or on the playground, or banning Islamic headscarves (Celeste et al., 2019).

Assimilationist approaches tend to reject or devalue ethnic minority students' heritage cultures and identities relative to those of ethnic majority students, and accordingly, ethnic majority members who endorsed assimilation more, showed more ethnic prejudice and bias against ethnic minority members (Gieling et al., 2014; Whitley & Webster, 2019). For

ethnic minority members, an assimilationist approach may threaten their ethnic identity and values. Thus, ethnic minority members are less likely to endorse assimilation than ethnic majority members (Brug & Verkuyten, 2007); and assimilationist pressures from the social environment are detrimental for their school adjustment: for instance, ethnic minority students in schools with a more assimilationist school policy had a lower sense of school belonging (Celeste et al., 2019), and ethnic minority schools in schools where teachers reported a more assimilationist school policy perceived their relationship with teachers as less supportive and experienced more discrimination over time (Baysu et al., 2020). Since assimilationist approaches affirm ethnic majority members' identities and devalue ethnic minority members' identities, we expect that in schools where teachers pursue a more assimilationist approach, ethnic majority students will show more positive attitudes towards ethnic majority members and more negative attitudes towards ethnic minority members (Hypothesis 1a); while ethnic minority students experience more discrimination (Hypothesis 1b).

Multiculturalism

Multicultural approaches aim to include ethnic minority members through acknowledging and valuing their attachment to a distinct heritage culture and identity (Sasaki & Vorauer, 2013). Multiculturalism proposes that learning about, and critically reflecting on, cultural and ethnic diversity can reduce prejudice (Park & Judd, 2005; Rosenthal & Levy, 2010). To the extent that multiculturalism values ethnic minority and majority members on an equal footing, it can be considered as an egalitarian and hierarchy-attenuating approach (Guimond et al., 2014). Multicultural approaches in schools may be expressed through including different cultural contents in the curriculum or in extra-curricular activities or through fostering understanding of implicit cultural assumptions and perspectives (Banks, 2015).

Accordingly, multicultural approaches are generally linked to more positive intereth-nic attitudes. In a meta-analysis, multiculturalism most strongly predicted lower prejudice among ethnic majority members as compared to other diversity approaches (Whitley &

Webster, 2019). Similarly, in educational contexts, shared student perceptions of multiculturalism predicted more positive interethnic attitudes and less interethnic bias among both ethnic majority and majority students in the Netherlands (for a review, see Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013) and in Germany (Schwarzenthal et al., 2018). Since this association was not found over time, it may partially reflect a projection of students' own ethnic attitudes onto the perceived classroom climate (Geerlings et al., 2019). However, in an intervention study, students who were encouraged to engage with their own and others' cultural identities showed more positive orientations towards other groups, mediated by a more cohesive global identity (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2018), suggesting that the positive association between multiculturalism and attitudes cannot merely be explained with projection effects.

Implications of a multicultural approach at school for students' experiences or perceptions of discrimination are less clear. Student perceptions of a multicultural classroom climate were associated with more discrimination experiences among ethnic majority and minority students in Germany (Schwarzenthal et al., 2018), and with more personally experienced racist victimization as well as more perceived racist victimization of peers from the same ethnic group among a diverse sample of students in the Netherlands (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). However, teacher-reported multicultural approaches were associated with lower perceived racist victimization of peers from the same ethnic group in a diverse sample of children in the Netherlands (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002), and with less discrimination experiences in peer relations among ethnic minority third and fourth graders in the U.S. (Brown & Chu, 2012).

The positive associations between student-reported multiculturalism and discrimination suggests that a multicultural school climate may raise awareness of discrimination, through representing perspectives from different ethnic groups in society, which has the potential benefit of enabling support for collective action to improve interethnic relations (Heberle et al., 2020). Conversely, a negative association of teacher-reported multiculturalism

with student perceptions of discrimination suggests that teacher approaches may actually reduce prejudice through encouraging perspective-taking between members of different ethnic groups in class.

To conclude, we expect that in schools where teachers pursue a more multicultural approach, ethnic majority students will show less interethnic bias through having more positive attitudes towards ethnic minority members and/or less positive attitudes towards ethnic majority members (Hypothesis 2a); while ethnic minority students will show more positive attitudes towards ethnic majority members (Hypothesis 2b). In view of mixed findings, we have no hypotheses about associations with student perceptions of discrimination, which we will investigate in an exploratory fashion.

Color-Evasion

Color-evasion denotes a distinct strand of diversity approaches in educational contexts (Celeste et al., 2019; Schachner et al., 2021). We define color-evasion as a normative focus on the individual person and a concomitant deliberate discounting of any racial, ethnic, or cultural group differences. Beyond its core individualistic premise, color-evasion takes on somewhat different connotations depending on context-specific meanings and practices. In the U.S. color-evasion was shown to divert attention away from racial inequity and discrimination, (also termed "power-evasion") (Byrd, 2017; Neville et al., 2000), and to lead people to discount instances of discrimination, thus perpetuating existing inequities (Apfelbaum et al., 2012). Similarly in Belgian school policies, color-evasion mainly conveyed an emphasis on the individual student along with ignoring ethnic and religious differences, with negative consequences for the inclusion of ethnic minority students (Celeste et al., 2019). In the German context, color-evasion was mainly assessed as an emphasis on cross-group similarities in society (e.g., Hachfeld et al., 2011), and student perceptions of a color-evasive classroom climate were positively associated with ethnic majority and minority students' intercultural competence (Schwarzenthal et al., 2019). Reflecting multiple situated meanings

of color-evasion in particular contexts, a meta-analysis revealed considerable variation in its associations with ethnic prejudice across studies (Whitley & Webster, 2019). Therefore, we do not propose specific hypotheses relating color-evasive approaches to students' interethnic relations but will instead investigate these associations in an exploratory fashion.

Intervening with Discrimination

Intervening with discrimination is often subsumed under the heading of multiculturalism (e.g., Schachner et al., 2016; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013). In European contexts, however, multicultural approaches in schools typically center around different cultural customs and faith traditions, with little emphasis on addressing racism and discrimination (Agirdag et al., 2016; Celeste et al., 2019; Civitillo et al., 2016). This focus on cultural differences while remaining silent about racism and inequity has been criticized for ignoring the wider structural constraints that affect ethnic minority students' lives differently from that of most ethnic majority peers (Gorski, 2016; Mecheril et al., 2010; Sleeter, 2012). Conversely, color-evasion has been criticized for perpetuating ethnic or racial disparities. Therefore, our study adds approaches aimed at intervening with racism and discrimination as distinct from those aimed at embracing cultural diversity (multiculturalism) or valuing individual students (color-evasion). Intervening with discrimination refers to what teachers (think they) say or do to condemn or sanction discriminatory comments, behaviors, or incidents in class, for example explicitly telling students not to discriminate on grounds of ethnic background or heritage, or actively intervening to stop or correct discriminatory interactions in class. When class teachers were seen to intervene in discriminatory incidents, both ethnic majority and minority students experienced less discrimination and racist victimization (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). In parallel, actively discussing and addressing incidents of discrimination may also foster students' awareness of discrimination through promoting their critical consciousness (Heberle et al., 2020). Therefore, our study not only assessed all students' own discrimination experiences, but also their perception that ethnic minority students may face

issues of racism or discrimination in their school. Less is known about implications of teachers intervening with discrimination at school for students' ethnic attitudes. If students perceive that teachers intervene with discrimination, better relationships of ethnic minority students with ethnic majority teachers may transfer to more positive attitudes towards ethnic majority group members more generally (Thijs & Verkuyten, 2012), but increased awareness of discrimination might also yield more negative attitudes towards ethnic majority group members, whom the students may hold accountable (Fleischmann & Phalet, 2016). To conclude, we expect that all students in schools where teachers intervene more with discrimination, will experience less discrimination (Hypothesis 3). We will investigate associations with discrimination perceptions, as well as with ethnic attitudes in an exploratory fashion.

School Ethnic Composition

It is possible that teachers' diversity approaches make a difference for students' inter-ethnic relations in *some* schools depending on the make-up of their student population. Schools in Europe are becoming increasingly ethnically diverse, and often highly segregated, so that ethnic minority students may even constitute a numerical majority in their schools (Baysu & de Valk, 2012). In schools where most students are ethnic minority members, teacher approaches that engage with cultural differences may be particularly important for students' interethnic relations. In schools where diversity is valued, all students may come to see diversity as an opportunity for intergroup contact (Allport, 1954; Blau, 1977), and for learning about different ethnic groups (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013) instead of feeling threatened (Schmid et al., 2014; Taylor, 1998). To identify more rigorously the unique or conditional effects of teacher diversity approaches, we will include ethnic composition in all models.

Student Perceptions of Diversity Approaches

Teacher diversity approaches may impact students' interethnic relations through social modelling, which has been dubbed the "invisible hand of the teacher" in students' peer relations in general (Kindermann, 2011) and in their interethnic relations in particular. In addition, teacher diversity approaches may affect interethnic relations through students' perceptions of the diversity norms that they promote. To assess students' perceptions of teachers' diversity approaches, our study asked them whether their teachers treat different cultures and religions with respect (multiculturalism), and whether teachers speak out or act against discrimination or bias (intervening with discrimination).

While effective diversity approaches depend crucially on congruence between teacher-reported approaches and students' perceptions of these approaches, student-teacher congruence on diversity issues is typically low. In a study with ethnically diverse elementary school children in the Netherlands (identifying as Dutch, Turkish, Moroccan, and Surinamese), for instance, teacher-reported multicultural education was positively associated with students' perceptions of multicultural education ($r = .20$, $p < .05$), but dissociated from their perceptions of teacher reactions towards racism ($r = .13$, $p > .05$) (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). The degree of congruence between teacher-reported diversity approaches and student perceptions of these approaches is especially low for ethnic minority students. In a study in Germany, teacher perceptions of equality and inclusion at school were only correlated with ethnic majority students' perceptions, but not with ethnic minority students' perceptions (Civitillo et al., 2016). There are several potential reasons for this lack of congruence between teacher and student perceptions. It may reflect in part the often implicit, hybrid, or inconsistent diversity messages and practices in European educational contexts, since some teachers may not "practice what they preach" (Geerlings et al., 2019), and many teachers are not systematically prepared to teach ethnically diverse classrooms (OECD, 2019). Moreover, the gap between teacher and ethnic minority students' perceptions in particular may be due to the 'ethnic incongruence' between an increasingly diverse student population and almost exclusively ethnic

majority teachers in many school contexts in Europe today (Santoro, 2013).We will investigate in an exploratory fashion the role of student perceptions of teacher diversity practices in the association between teacher-reported diversity approaches (multiculturalism and intervening with racism) and interethnic relations among ethnic majority and minority students.

The Present Study

With the present study, we aim to investigate how teacher-reported diversity approaches are associated with students' interethnic relations and whether these associations are moderated by ethnic minority and majority status as well as ethnic composition. We go beyond previous research in several ways: (1) We include not just one, but several diversity approaches identified in previous research (assimilationism, multiculturalism, color-evasion) and further distinguish a fourth approach – intervening with discrimination at school. (2) we examine whether associations differ between Belgian majority and Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students, taking into account distinct ethnic majority and minority group perspectives on interethnic relations. (3) We include several aspects of students' interethnic relations (attitudes towards ethnic minority and majority members, as well as discrimination experiences and perceived discrimination of ethnic minority students), acknowledging that ethnic attitudes and discrimination have different meanings and consequences for ethnic majority and minority students. (4) We do not just measure diversity approaches through student perceptions, but focus on teacher reports, which are key information for both methodological, theoretical, and applied reasons. Another novelty of our study is that (5) Since ethnic composition sets the stage for students' interethnic relations, we will further explore whether the associations hypothesized above differ in schools where ethnic minority students are a numerical majority. (6) We include students and teachers as informants to assess diversity approaches, and in additional exploratory analyses, explore degrees of congruence between teacher-reported approaches and student perceptions of these approaches. An overview of our comprehensive hypothetical model is presented in Figure 1.

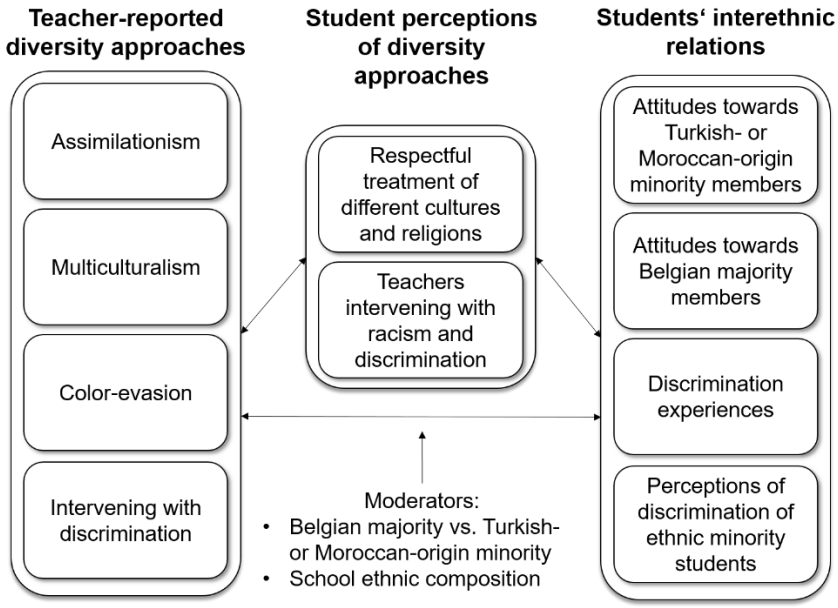

Figure 1 Comprehensive hypothetical model

Method

Participants and Procedure

We based our analyses on the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study in Flanders-Belgium (CILS_Flanders) which was modelled on its European counterpart (CILS4EU) (Kalter et al., 2018). This school-based survey used an accelerated longitudinal design with three waves of data collection that were one year apart (for further details, see Phalet et al., 2018). The stratified random sampling design draws schools from strata with low (<10%), moderate (10-30% and 30-60%) and high (>60%) percentages of ethnic minority students using school-level administrative data on speaking a foreign language at home. It was approved by the university ethical review board with the consent of school principals and teachers. Children and their parents were informed about their right to opt out before, during and after school visits. At each wave, students filled out the questionnaires during class time with the guidance of trained research assistants and in the presence of teachers. In the second wave, we approached teachers who were class mentors of all classes that participated in the

survey to fill out a teacher questionnaire[2]. Class mentors are first-in-line to follow up on students' overall educational progress, learning, emotional or behavioral difficulties, or special needs. They typically teach main subjects and see their students almost daily, so they play a key role in communicating school diversity approaches to students. The present study couples teacher data from class mentors in wave 2 with data from students attending the same schools from waves 2 and 3. We did not include wave 1 student data to better match the wave 2 teacher data.

Teacher Sample

The teacher questionnaire was completed by N = 547 teachers (M_{age} = 39.02 years, SD_{age} = 9.99, 70% female, 30% male). These had on average 13.78 years of teaching experience (SD = 9.79). Only 10% (N = 57) of the teachers were first- or second-generation, meaning that they themselves or at least one of their parents were born abroad. Out of these, most (N = 27) originated from Western Europe (e.g., the Netherlands), followed by Eastern Europe (N = 5) (e.g., Poland), Southern Europe (N = 5) (e.g., Italy), Turkey (N = 5), Morocco (N = 4), and Congo (N = 3).

Teacher data was available for 58 schools. On average, 9.34 teachers per school completed the questionnaire (SD = 5.61, Range = 1-25). Our study takes a multi-level approach of interethnic relations in schools and conceives of teacher-reported diversity approaches as a contextual factor. To this end, we aggregated teacher perceptions at the school level and coupled these with individual-level student perceptions and outcomes in the same schools. Diversity practices as reported by teachers vary significantly between Belgian

[2] In waves 2 and 3 of the Belgian CILS surveys (which are used in this study) cross-sectional response rates were high at 85.2% and 81.9% of sampled students respectively; and longitudinal attrition in wave 3 was 24,1% of the effective student sample in wave 2 (cf. Phalet et al., 2018). Most common reasons for non-response were illness, parental refusal to have their children participate, students who changed schools or classes within a school, or absence from class due to other school activities. Reasons for student nonresponse do not suggest strong selection biases. Teacher data was available for 58 out of 76 schools (76.3%), and for 481 out of 763 sampled teachers (63%). Reasons for non-response were not recorded. However, since only class mentors were eligible to participate, their questionnaires were most often collected separately from student data collection, which may explain why some teachers could not be reached or motivated to fill out the questionnaires.

schools (Agirdag et al., 2016). As secondary school students have many teachers teaching different subjects, we are less interested here in teachers' individual diversity approaches than in their normative role as socialization agents whose views add up to inform different school climates. In line with this reasoning, intra-class correlations (ICCs) of teacher diversity approaches at the school level were significant *($ICC_{assimilation}$* = .10, $ICC_{color\text{-}evasion}$ = .04, $ICC_{multiculturalism}$=.05, $ICC_{intervening\ with\ discrimination}$ = .08). We acknowledge that teacher approaches are only one perspective (among others) on school diversity climates. Furthermore, we do not assume that teacher approaches are consensual within schools, nor do they need to coincide with either student perceptions or school policies.

Student Samples

Overall, 2613 students from 64 schools participated in waves 2 and 3 of the study (*N*=4152 at wave 2, *N*=3211 at wave 3). Out of the 2613 students who participated in waves 2 and 3, 55 changed schools between waves and were excluded from the analyses. In our analyses, we aimed to specifically investigate and compare the experiences of Belgian majority as well as of Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students. We assigned students to the "Belgian majority" subsample when a maximum of one grandparent and no parents were born outside of Belgium. Students were assigned to the "Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority" subsample when at least two grandparents or at least one parent were born in Turkey or Morocco, respectively. Based on this rule, *N* = 575 other-origin minority students were excluded from further analyses[3].The final sample consisted of 1983 students, comprising *N* = 1287 Belgian majority (at wave 2: M_{age}= 15.52, SD_{age}=1.03, 51% female, 48% male, 1% missing) and *N* = 696 Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority (at wave 2: M_{age}= 15.92, SD_{age}=1.17, 58% female, 42% male) students. Within the Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority subsample, 312 were of Turkish origin and 384 of Moroccan origin. Most were locally born, i.e. second-generation

[3] Most of these originated from Western European countries, *N* = 49, Eastern European countries, *N*=23, and African countries, *N*=18.

(82%) or third-generation (2%), while some were first-generation (16%). Most students (46%) were in the fourth year of secondary school, 29% in the third year, and 23% in the second year. About one fourth (24%) of all students attended schools with more than 60% of students speaking a foreign language at home (7% of the Belgian majority students, and 54% of the Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students).

Measures

Predictors

Teacher-Reported Diversity Approaches.

The teacher questionnaire that was handed out at wave 2 contained 11 items to assess diversity approaches, with a focus on what teachers say or do about diversity rather than their private attitudes (adapted from Meeussen et al., 2014; extended with assimilationism and anti-discrimination approaches as distinct from multiculturalism and color-evasion approaches; cf. Celeste et al., 2019). Responses were given on a scale from 1 (*entirely incorrect*) to 6 (*entirely correct*). To validate distinct theoretically informed teacher diversity approaches, we subsequently conducted Exploratory Factor Analyses (EFA) on all 11 indicators in our data and Confirmatory Factor Analyses (CFA) with 9 retained indicators. The analyses yielded empirically fitting and theoretically sound four-factor solutions, suggesting distinct teacher diversity approaches of assimilationism, multiculturalism, color-Evasion, and intervening with discrimination. CFA showed adequate fit of a final four-factor model ($\chi^2 = 80.21$, df=21, CFI = .93, RMSEA = .07, SRMR = .05). The four factors closely mirror distinct diversity approaches that have been identified in previous research on diversity approaches of Belgian schools (Celeste et al., 2019). Alternate one- to three-factor solutions showed inadequate fit or problematic cross-loadings (Watkins, 2018; see Supplemental Materials A for more detailed information). Two indicators were omitted from final CFA because they did not load sufficiently distinctly on any single factor in preliminary EFAs. Specifically, we took out “I use teaching materials in which social and cultural diversity are covered” and “I talk to my

students about racism and discrimination". Plausibly, these two indicators may primarily reflect the specific contents of (restricted) available teaching materials or the specific subjects being taught rather than teachers' diversity approaches.

Three of the four factors identified comprised two indicators. Following Eisinga et al. (2013), we report Spearman-Brown reliability coefficients, which are more appropriate for two indicators than Cronbach's Alpha or Pearson correlations. The use of a limited number of indicators is common in survey research (e.g., Baysu et al., 2016) but inevitably comes at the cost of lower reliability (Eisinga et al., 2012; Watkins, 2018). However, acceptable cutoff values for reliability coefficients depend on how a measure is being used in research ("one size does not fit all"; Cho & Kim, 2015, p. 218; Hair et al., 2010) and since our study aggregates teacher approaches at the school level, increasing the reliability of our measures by averaging individual scores over multiple ‚raters', we are less concerned with individual-level reliability than with reliability at the contextual level.

The first factor with two items was labeled "assimilationism" ("I expect those with a different cultural background to adapt to Belgian customs"; "I expect students with a different cultural background other than Belgian to behave like all other students"), $R_{SpearmanBrown}$ = 57. The second factor with two items was labeled "color-evasion" (e.g. "I treat students as individuals and pay little attention to cultural background"; "I don't consider the cultural background of students, but only their performance"), $R_{SpearmanBrown}$ =.66. The third factor with three items was labeled "multiculturalism" ("I find it important to take the cultural background of students into account"; "I expect Belgian students to try to learn something from the customs and values of students with a different cultural background"; "I pay attention to cultural diversity with students in a positive way"), α=.78. The fourth factor with two items was labeled "intervening with discrimination" ("I take firm action against racism and discrimination in class"; "I tell my students they may not discriminate fellow students with a different cultural background or heritage"), $R_{SpearmanBrown}$ =.57. For all four dimensions, the

mean of the respective scale was calculated. Factor loadings, as well as descriptive statistics and correlations between the four dimensions at the individual teacher level are presented in Supplemental Materials A and B. The teacher responses were then aggregated at the school level and matched with the student data.

Outcomes

Student-Reported Ethnic Attitudes. The students were instructed to rate how they felt about a range of groups in Belgium using a feeling thermometer item set with a scale from 0 (negative) to 100 (positive) (Esses et al., 1993; adapted from same measure used in international CILS study and adjusted to major ethnic groups in Belgium; Kalter et al., 2018; Phalet et al., 2018). One item each captured attitudes towards Belgians, as well as towards Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority members. For Belgian majority students, we assessed their attitudes towards Belgian majority members, and their averaged attitudes towards Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority members (by averaging their ratings across both ethnic groups). For Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students, we assessed their attitude towards members of their respective ethnic groups (i.e., Turkish-origin minority students rated members of the Turkish-origin group; Moroccan-origin minority students rated members of the Moroccan-origin group). In addition, the Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students also rated their attitudes towards Belgian majority members.[4] As attitudes towards specific ethnic group members have different meanings from ethnic majority and minority perspectives, we conducted separate analyses for Belgian majority and Turkish- and Moroccan-origin minority student subsamples in our study.

[4] In the questionnaire, the respective item assessed the attitude towards „Belgians“. This item may have been interpreted by participants either as referring to Belgian ethnic majority members only, or to all nationals of the country of residence (including ethnic minority members). Moreover, the Turkish- and Moroccan-origin minority students themselves may or may not identify as Belgian (note that most Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students in our sample are born in Belgium with Belgian or dual nationality, yet they tend to be more weakly self-identified as Belgians than ethnic majority students on average; Fleischmann & Phalet, 2018). For these reasons the attitudes cannot be seen as reflecting in- or outgroup attitudes and we therefore refrained from using this terminology.

Student-Reported Ethnic Discrimination Experiences and Perceptions. At wave 3, all students were asked about their (personal) ethnic discrimination experiences using one item: "How often are you discriminated against, treated unfairly or with hostility at school because of your background or descent?" In addition, they also reported their perception of (group) discrimination of ethnic minority students at their school in one item: "How often are students with a foreign background being discriminated against, treated unfairly or with hostility at school because of their background or descent?" (adapted from discrimination measure in international 'The Integration of the European Second Generation' [TIES] survey, 2008; validated by Heikamp et al., 2020). Responses to both questions were rated on a scale from 1 (*never*) to 4 (*almost always*) so that higher scores reflect more discrimination.

Mediators

Student-Reported Perception of Respectful Treatment of Different Cultures and Religions. As potential mediators of the effect of teacher approaches on student outcomes, we asked students about their perceptions of school diversity approaches (based on Green et al., 1988; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2010; validated by Heikamp et al., 2020; Baysu et al., 2016). At wave 2, all students thus indicated their agreement or disagreement with the following statement: "In my school different cultures and religions are treated with respect". Responses ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) so that higher scores reflect more perceived respectful treatment.

Student-Reported Perception of Class Teachers Intervening with Discrimination. Additionally, students at wave 2 also indicated their perception of teachers intervening with discrimination using the same rating scale as above and closely mirroring the statements that teachers also rated: "In my school strong action is taken against racism and discrimination"; "In my school teachers say that you shouldn't discriminate students with another culture or heritage". Both ratings formed a reliable composite index ($R_{SpearmanBrown} = .50$). Higher mean scores reflect more perceived interventions with discrimination.

Moderator: Ethnic Composition

School ethnic composition was indicated by a dummy variable identifying schools with over 60% students speaking a foreign language at home. This indicator draws on available administrative school data from the Ministry of Education, which was used to oversample schools with many ethnic minority students in accordance with the internationally standardized stratified random sampling design of the CILS surveys (Kalter et al., 2018; Phalet et al, 2018). Over 60% numerical majority status shifts to ethnic minority students with known consequences for interethnic relations in schools (Baysu et al., 2014; Graham, 2006).

Control Variables

Additional individual-level controls in mediation analyses were age, gender (0=*male*, 1=*female*) and, as a proxy for socioeconomic status, parental education (based on the parent with the highest qualification: 1 = *primary school*, 2 = *secondary school*, 3 = *university or higher*), all measured at wave 2.

Descriptives and bivariate correlations at the individual and school level separately for Belgian majority and Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students are shown in Tables 1 and 2. School level correlations for the full sample are reported in Supplemental Materials C. Since color-evasion was not significantly associated with the outcome measures, it was removed from further analyses to reduce overall model complexity at the school-level.

Table 1
Individual-Level Bivariate Correlations and Descriptives (Separately for Belgian Majority and Turkish- or Moroccan-Origin Minority Students)

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
1. Age (w2)	-	-.05†	-.12***	-.05	-.03	.08*	-.00	-.11***	-.07*
2. Gender (0=male, 1=female)(w2)	-.08†	-	-.01	-.03	.11***	-.05	.00	.04	-.04
3. Parental education (w2)	-.05	.03	-	.08**	.05	-.09**	-.09**	.02	.04
4. Student attitudes towards Belgian majority members (for Belgian majority students)/towards either Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority members (for Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students) (w3)	.00	.03	.08†	-	-.02	-.11***	-.08**	.06*	.13***
5. Student attitudes towards Turkish- and Moroccan-origin minority members (for Belgian majority students)/towards Belgian majority members (for	.07†	-.03	.07†	.15***	-	-.13***	-.10**	.15***	.09**

	Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students) (w3)								
6.	Student discrimination experiences (w3)	-.09*	-.14***	.10*	-.11**	-.16***	-	.23***	-.10***	-.08**
7.	Student perceived discrimination of ethnic minority students (w3)	.04	-.07†	-.00	-.10*	-.21***	.61***	-	-.17***	-.10**
8.	Student perception of respectful treatment at school (w2)	-.03	-.04	.05	.03	.05	-.17***	-.18***	-	.41***
9.	Student perception of teachers intervening with discrimination (w2)	-.02	-.06	.03	.04	.16***	-.13**	-.11**	.37***	-
M(*SD*) Belgian majority students		15.52 (1.03)	51% (0.50)	2.52 (0.54)	86.36 (16.92)	52.01 (23.27)	1.17 (0.50)	1.61 (0.69)	3.96 (0.75)	3.64 (0.77)
M(*SD*) Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students		15.92 (1.17)	58% (0.49)	2.05 (0.59)	86.59 (21.06)	61.03 (27.21)	1.43 (0.77)	1.90 (0.88)	3.94 (0.98)	3.34 (0.99)
Range		13-20	0 vs. 1	1-3	0-100	0-100	1-4	1-4	1-5	1-5

Note. N = 1287 Belgian majority students, above diagonal, and N = 696 Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students, below diagonal; w2 = measured at wave 2, w3 = measured at wave 3. $^{\dagger}p < .10$. $^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$

Table 2
School-Level Bivariate Correlations and Descriptives (Separately for Belgian Majority and Turkish- or Moroccan-Origin Minority Students)

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
1. Ethnic composition (1 = >60% students speaking foreign language at home) (w2)	-	-.05	.09	.01	-.12	-.45***	.36**	.27*	.28*	-.03	-.11
2. Teacher assimilationism (w2)	.00	-	-.27*.	31*	.12	.34*	-.11	.20	-.09	.03.	.28*
3. Teacher multiculturalism (w2)	.21	-.31*	-	-.28*	.35*	-.31*	.23†	-.09	-.02	.21	.02
4. Teacher color-evasion (w2)	.08	.36*	-.12	-	-.21	.08	-.06	-.09	.14	-.19	-.09
5. Teacher intervening with racism and discrimination (w2)	-.21	.17	.18	-.19	-	-.03	-.05	-.01	.12	.21	-.02
6. Student attitudes towards Belgian majority members (for Belgian majority students) /towards either Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority members (for Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students) (w3)	.00	.12	.16	-.04	-.09	-	-.10	.11	-.54***	-.21†	.17
7. Student attitudes towards Turkish- and Moroccan-origin minority members (for Belgian majority students)/towards Belgian majority members (for Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students) (w3)	-.31*	-.17	-.34*	-.17	-.26†	-.01	-	.20	-.12	.00	-.02
8. Student discrimination experiences (w3)	.02	.00	.14	.15	-.04	-.33*	-.32*	-	-.03	-.36**	-.18
9. Student perceived discrimination of ethnic minority students (w3)	-.13	-.01	.06	.08	.07	-.03	-.22	.68***	-	-.09	-.37**
10. Student perception of respectful treatment at school (w2)	.19	-.14	.58***	-.19	-.03	.43**	.09	-.35*	-.34*	-	.55***
11. Student perception of teachers intervening with discrimination (w2)	.07	.04	.16	-.05	-.01	.09	.27†	-.15	-.23	.34*	-

Note. N = 1287 Belgian majority students in 62 schools and N = 696 Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students in 52 schools; correlations for Belgian majority students above diagonal, correlations for Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students below diagonal; w2 = measured at wave 2, w3 = measured at wave 3. $^{\dagger}p < .10$. $^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$

Analytic Approach

As a first step, we estimated attrition rates and identified related student characteristics. We then investigated intra-class correlations (ICCs). To test our hypotheses, effects of teacher diversity approaches on students' interethnic relations at the school level were estima-

ted using multilevel path analyses in Mplus 7.3 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2011). As the meaning of ethnic attitudes and discrimination experiences and perceptions differs between ethnic majority and minority members' perspectives, we ran separate analyses for Belgian majority and Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students. Associations between teacher approaches and students' interethnic relations were specified at the school level (N = 62 for Belgian minority students; N = 52 for Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students). To reduce complexity of school-level models, separate models were estimated to predict students' ethnic attitudes and discrimination experiences and perceptions at wave 3 from teacher approaches measured at wave 2. Analyses were conducted in a stepwise fashion. After estimating null models with random intercepts only, we introduced ethnic composition as school-level predictor in a first step, and teacher diversity approaches as school-level predictors in a second step. Next, interaction effects between ethnic composition and teacher diversity approaches were added one by one, and only kept in the models if they were significant. In a final step, we ran exploratory analyses testing potential mediation by student perceptions of teacher approaches, measuring both teacher approaches and student perceptions at wave 2, and students' interethnic relations at wave 3. In these models, we also controlled for age, gender, and parental education at the individual level.

Results

Attrition Analysis

In line with earlier findings of higher attrition rates among ethnic minority students (Celeste et al., 2019), Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students and students who experienced more discrimination were slightly more likely to drop out of the study between waves 2 and 3 (for details, see Supplemental Materials D).

Intra-Class Correlations (ICCs)

For both Belgian majority as well as Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students, most ICCs of the outcome variables were higher than .05. Only for discrimination experiences

(.02), and perceived discrimination (.04) among Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students less than 5% of variance was between schools (see Supplemental Materials E).

Multilevel Path Analyses

As a first step, ethnic composition was introduced as a predictor at the school level (for detailed results, see Tables 3 and 4), followed by adding teacher diversity approaches as school-level predictors. Adding teacher approaches as predictors substantially increased the explained variance between schools for Belgian majority members' attitudes towards Belgian majority members (from $R^2 = .69^{**}$ to $R^2 = .79^{***}$) and Turkish- and Moroccan-origin minority members (from $R^2 = .19^{*}$ to $R^2 = .31^{*}$), as well as for their experienced (from $R^2 = .11$ to $R^2 = .27$) and perceived discrimination (from $R^2 = .30$ to $.48^{*}$). Among Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students, the proportion of variance explained increased but was neither significant for their attitudes towards Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority members (from $R^2 = .00$ to $R^2 = .42$) nor for their attitudes towards Belgian majority members (from $R^2 = .13$ to $R^2 = .90$), or their experienced (from $R^2 = .02$ to $R^2 = .24$) or perceived (from $R^2 = .15$ to $R^2 = .67$) discrimination.

Main Effects

Assimilationism. When teachers reported higher assimilationism, Belgian majority students had (even) more positive attitudes towards Belgian majority members (supporting Hypothesis 1a). However, teacher-reported assimilationism was unrelated to Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students' discrimination experiences or perceptions (not supporting Hypothesis 1b).

Multiculturalism. When teachers reported higher multiculturalism, Belgian majority students had less highly positive attitudes towards Belgian majority members (supporting Hypothesis 2a). However, teacher-reported multiculturalism was unrelated to Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students' ethnic attitudes (not supporting Hypothesis 2b).

Intervening with Discrimination. When teachers reported intervening with discrimination, Belgian majority students did not show reduced discrimination experiences (not supporting Hypothesis 3) but perceived more discrimination of ethnic minority students. Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students had less positive attitudes towards Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority members, but teacher-reported intervening with discrimination was unrelated to their experienced or perceived discrimination (not supporting Hypothesis 3).

Moderation by Ethnic Composition

As a next step, we investigated interactions of teacher diversity approaches with ethnic composition one by one. Among Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students, none of the interaction effects were significant.

Assimilationism. Among Belgian majority students, interactions between composition and assimilationism were significant. Only in schools with more than 60% ethnic minority students, assimilationism predicted more (own, hence reversed) discrimination experiences, and less perceived discrimination of ethnic minority students, among Belgian majority students (see Figures 2 and 3). Adding the interactions increased the explained variance at the school level for Belgian majority students' experienced (R^2 =.37†) and perceived (R^2 = .66***) discrimination.

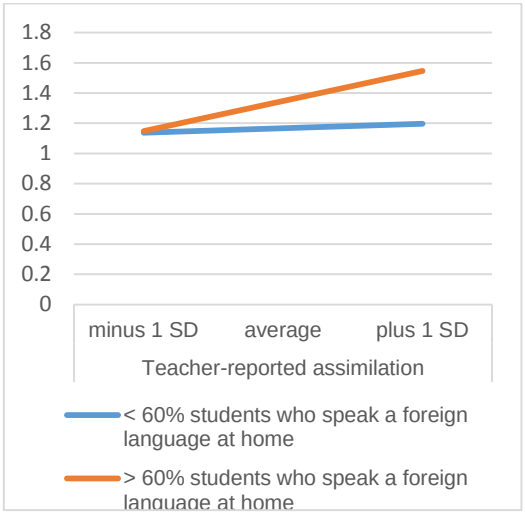

Figure 2 Interaction of teacher-reported assimilationism with ethnic composition on discrimination experiences among Belgian majority students

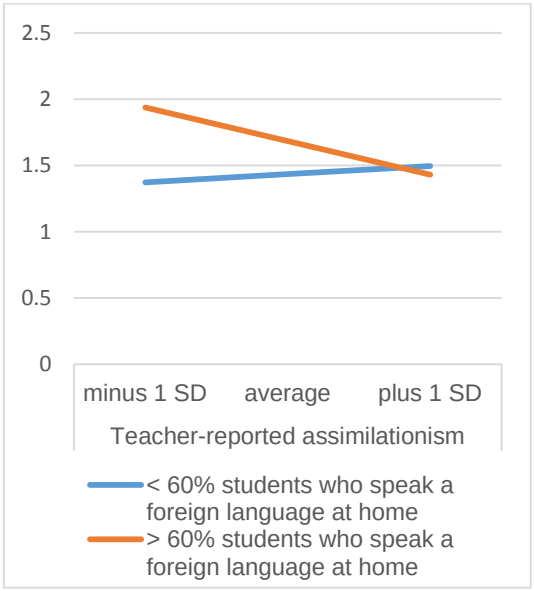

Figure 3 Interaction of teacher-reported assimilationism with ethnic composition on perceived discrimination of ethnic minority students by Belgian majority students

Multiculturalism. Among Belgian majority students, the interaction between ethnic composition and teacher-reported multiculturalism was significant for attitudes towards Belgian majority members, so that teacher-reported multiculturalism predicted less positive attitudes only in schools with more than 60% of ethnic minority students (see Figure 4). Including this interaction further increased the explained variance in Belgian majority students' attitudes towards Belgian majority members at the school level (R^2: .95***).

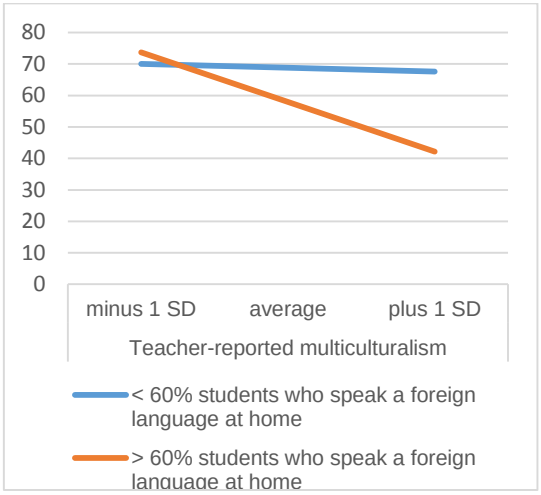

Figure 4 Interaction of teacher-reported multiculturalism with ethnic composition on Belgian majority students' attitudes towards Belgian majority members.

Model parameters and model fit of the final models (including the significant interactions for Belgian majority students) are reported in Tables 3 and 4[5].

Table 3
Results of Multilevel Path Analyses with Ethnic Attitudes

	Belgian Majority Students		**Turkish- or Moroccan-Origin Minority Students**	
	Attitudes towards Belgian majority members (w3)	Attitudes towards Turkish- and Moroccan-origin minority members (w3)	Attitudes towards Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority members (w3)	Attitudes towards Belgian majority members (w3)
	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)
School level				
Intercept	11.57****(2.43)	4.88(3.78)	15.59*(7.09)	29.25(22.97)
Predictors				
Ethnic composition (1 = >60% students speaking foreign language at home) (w2)	7.47***(1.93)	0.39**(0.12)	-0.15(0.17)	-0.44(0.29)
Teacher assimilationism (w2)	0.18† (0.10)	-0.09(0.19)	0.30(0.27)	0.01(0.41)
Teacher multiculturalism (w2)	-0.17* (0.07)	0.34(0.22)	0.59† (.31)	-0.40(0.59)
Teacher intervening with discrimination (w2)	0.06 (0.04)	-0.04(0.22)	-0.46*(0.22)	-0.67(0.73)
Interactions				

[5] To check robustness of our results, we ran additional analyses without ethnic composition and including teacher approaches one by one. This did not change the results among Belgian majority students. Among Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students, when tested one by one, teacher-reported intervening with discrimination no longer predicted less positive attitudes towards Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority members. Instead, both teacher-reported intervening with discrimination and teacher-reported multiculturalism significantly predicted less positive attitudes towards Belgian majority members.

Ethnic composition * teacher assimilationism	-	-	-	-
Ethnic composition * teacher multiculturalism	-8.25***(1.87)	-	-	-
Ethnic composition * teacher intervening with discrimination	-	-	-	-
R^2 school level	.95***	.29*	.42	.90
Model fit	χ^2/df=10.39/6=1.73, *p*=0.11, RMSEA = .02, CFI = 0.99, $SRMR_{within}$= .00, $SRMR_{between}$=.06, AIC = 21243.20		χ^2/df=6.83/3=2.28, *p*=0.08, RMSEA = .04, CFI = .89 , $SRMR_{within}$= .00, $SRMR_{between}$=.09, AIC = 12021.03	

Note. *N* = 1287 Belgian majority students in 62 schools and *N* = 696 Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students in 52 schools. w2 = measured at wave 2, w3 = measured at wave 3. †*p* < .10. *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001

Table 4

Results of Multilevel Path Analyses with Discrimination as Outcome Variables

	Belgian Majority Students		**Turkish- or Moroccan-Origin Minority Students**	
	Discrimination experiences (w3)	Discrimination perceptions (w3)	Discrimination experiences (w3)	Discrimination perceptions (w3)
	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)
School level				
Intercept	4.74*(1.84)	3.60(3.25)	8.39(9.25)	5.24(13.07)
Predictors				
Ethnic composition (1 = >60% students speaking foreign language at home) (w2)	-3.44†(1.87)	6.41***(1.27)	-0.19(0.28)	-0.43(0.51)
Teacher assimilationism (w2)	0.15 (0.19)	0.28(0.20)	0.10(0.43)	-0.14(0.78)
Teacher multiculturalism (w2)	-0.16 (0.16)	-.0.20(0.16)	0.49(0.53)	0.64(2.26)
Teacher intervening with discrimination (w2)	0.14 (0.13)	0.20*(0.09)	-0.14(0.43)	0.04(0.60)
Interactions				
Ethnic composition *teacher assimilationism	3.81*(1.91)	-5.92***(1.36)	-	-
Ethnic composition *teacher multiculturalism		-	-	-
Ethnic composition *teacher intervening with discrimination	-	-	-	-
R^2 school level	.37†	.66***	.24	.67
Model fit	χ^2/df=5.86/5=1.17, *p*=0.32, RMSEA = .01, CFI = 1.00 , $SRMR_{within}$= .00, $SRMR_{between}$=.06, AIC = 404624.36		χ^2/df=6.157/3=2.05, *p*=0.10, RMSEA = .04, CFI = .99 , $SRMR_{within}$= .00, $SRMR_{between}$=.13, AIC = 3121.46	

Note. *N* = 1287 Belgian majority students in 62 schools and *N* = 696 Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students in 52 schools. w2 = measured at wave 2, w3 = measured at wave 3. †*p* < .10. *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001

Exploratory Mediation Analyses: Student Perceptions of Teacher Diversity Approaches

As additional exploratory analyses, we investigated whether the effects of teacher approaches on students' interethnic relations at wave 3 were mediated by student perceptions of teacher approaches at wave 2 (i.e., perceptions of respectful treatment of different cultures

and religions, and perceptions of teachers intervening with discrimination). Since the sample size at the school level was small, we introduced only one mediator at a time to keep the mediation models simple. We only report the main findings in the text. Tables with complete results are added in Supplemental Materials F.

Overall, teacher-reported diversity approaches showed very few associations with student perceptions of these diversity approaches. Only in one case, teacher-reported multiculturalism was positively associated with Belgian majority students' perceptions that their teachers intervene with discrimination in class.

However, student perceptions of teachers' diversity approaches showed associations with students' interethnic relations at the school level and at the individual level. Among Belgian majority students, student perceptions of teachers intervening with discrimination, as well as student perceptions of respectful treatment, predicted less student perceived discrimination at the school level. The school-level mediation effect between teacher-reported multiculturalism, student perceptions of teachers intervening with discrimination, and student perceived discrimination was marginally significant, $z = -0.10$, $SE = 0.06$, $p = 0.08$. Similarly, Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students in schools where they perceived more respectful treatment at wave 2, perceived significantly less ethnic discrimination at wave 3 (even though teacher-reported approaches were unrelated to their perceptions of respectful treatment).

At the individual level, student-perceived respectful treatment and intervening with discrimination showed some associations with more positive attitudes towards different ethnic groups, as well as with reduced discrimination experiences and perceptions among both Belgian majority and Turkish- and Moroccan-origin minority students.

Discussion

We aimed to explore whether teachers, as central socialization agents and models for

appropriate interpersonal and interethnic behaviors in the school context, contribute to students' interethnic relations. To pursue this goal, we drew on a large-scale dataset collected in schools in Belgium (Phalet et al., 2018) and examined associations between teacher-reported diversity approaches and different aspects of students' interethnic relations. Going beyond the majority of previous research, we included four types of diversity approaches (assimilationism, color-evasion, multiculturalism, intervening with discrimination), and different aspects of students' interethnic relations with distinct meanings for ethnic majority and minority members (i.e., attitudes towards ethnic majority members and towards ethnic minority members, discrimination experiences and perceptions of discrimination against ethnic minority students). While previous research has often assessed diversity approaches through student perceptions, a strength of our study is that we measured these approaches through teacher reports. In addition, we explored whether students' own perceptions of these approaches mediated associations between teacher-reported approaches and aspects of students' interethnic relations. Our findings support existing literature showing that teachers do matter for students' interethnic relations (Geerlings et al., 2019), but they also point out gaps between teacher and student perceptions of what is happening in the school, especially between the largely ethnic majority teacher population and ethnic minority students.

Teacher-Reported Diversity Approaches and Students' Interethnic Relations

We had included four types of teacher diversity approaches in our analyses (assimilationism, multiculturalism, intervening with discrimination, and color-evasion). These showed differential associations with students' interethnic relations.

Assimilationism

Since assimilationist approaches typically imply that ethnic minorities are expected to conform to the ethnic majority, we had expected that teacher-reported assimilationist approaches would be associated with higher ingroup bias among Belgian majority students (Hypothesis 1a), and with more discrimination experiences among Turkish- and Moroccan-

origin minority students (Hypothesis 1b). Supporting Hypothesis 1a, we found that in schools where teachers reported more assimilationist approaches, Belgian majority students indeed showed more positive attitudes towards Belgian majority members (supporting Hypothesis 1a). To interpret this finding, it is important to note that Belgian majority students' attitudes towards Belgian majority members were high on average (M = 86.36 on a scale from 1-100), and considerably higher than their attitudes towards Turkish- and Moroccan-origin minority members (M = 52.01). Thus, in schools where teachers pursue an assimilationist strategy, this gap between ethnic majority vs. minority group evaluations is widened even further. Similar to findings showing that teacher-reported assimilationism is associated with more positive teacher-student relationships among ethnic majority students, and more negative ones among ethnic minority students (Baysu et al., 2020), our results are in line with notions considering assimilationism to be a hierarchy-enhancing approach (Guimond et al., 2014).

Our analyses also offer first indications that teacher-reported assimilationism may prevent ethnic majority students attending majority-minority schools from learning about racism and ethnic discrimination faced by ethnic minority groups. On average, Belgian majority students who attended majority-minority schools (i.e., schools with more than 60% students who speak a foreign language at home) were more likely to perceive (group) discrimination faced by ethnic minority students. This may reflect that in majority-minority schools, ethnic majority students learn about racism and ethnic discrimination through observation and interactions with their ethnic minority classmates, which may promote alignment of ethnic majority and minority students' perceptions of discrimination and the development of "allyship" among ethnic majority students (Tropp et al., 2021; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). However, this effect disappeared when teachers reported strong assimilationism. Specifically, when teachers reported higher assimilationism in majority-minority schools, Belgian majority students tended to report higher (personal) discrimination experiences and lower perceptions of discrimination against ethnic minority students. This may

indicate that assimilationist approaches, through valuing the experiences of the ethnic majority more than those of the ethnic minority, may reduce learning about racism and ethnic discrimination faced by ethnic minority students among ethnic majority students attending majority-minority schools.

Contrary to our expectations, teacher-reported assimilationism was not associated with Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students' discrimination experiences (not supporting Hypothesis 1b). This may be partially to the low variance of Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students' discrimination experiences at the school level (*ICC* = .02). It may also reflect that ethnic minority students experience discrimination in many forms and from many sources besides being confronted with assimilationist teacher approaches, ranging from blatant forms of discrimination such as racist name-calling and social exclusion (Titzmann et al., 2011; Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002) to subtle types of discrimination such as foreigner objectification (Juang et al., 2021), from both classmates and teachers. Teacher-reported assimilationist approaches may only be one small piece in this bigger puzzle of discrimination experiences faced by ethnic minority students.

Multiculturalism

Since multicultural approaches entail valuing people's distinct ethnic identities, we had expected that in schools where teachers pursued a more multicultural approach, Belgian majority students would show lower ingroup bias (Hypothesis 2a). Our findings show that when teachers reported higher multiculturalism in majority-minority schools, Belgian majority students' highly positive attitudes towards Belgian majority members were somewhat lowered (supporting Hypothesis 2a). Against the background that ingroup bias is typically larger among ethnic majority populations than among ethnic minority populations (Leach & Livingstone, 2015), this finding reflects that in majority-minority schools, promotion of multiculturalism by teachers may somewhat reduce this ingroup bias. Similar to findings showing that teacher-reported multiculturalism may contribute to more negative teacher-

student relationships among ethnic majority students, and more positive ones among ethnic minority students (Baysu et al., 2020), our results underscore the notion of multiculturalism as a hierarchy-attenuating ideology (Guimond et al., 2014).

Interestingly, teacher-reported multiculturalism was neither associated with ethnic attitudes nor with discrimination experiences and perceptions among Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students. This may partially be attributable to the low ICCs of the outcome variables. There was only a marginally significant positive association between teacher-reported multiculturalism and attitudes towards Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority members among Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students, which should be investigated again in further research using larger sample sizes. The lack of associations between teacher-reported multiculturalism and Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students' ethnic attitudes and discrimination experiences and perceptions is part of a broader gap between teacher-reported approaches and Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students' perceptions, which we will discuss in further detail below.

Intervening with Discrimination

When teachers intervene with discrimination, they may contribute to a safe climate in their school and thus reduce incidents of discrimination (Thapa et al., 2013). Therefore, we had expected that in schools where teachers intervene with discrimination, all students would report lower discrimination experiences (Hypothesis 3). Contrary to our expectation, we found that teacher-reported intervening with discrimination was not associated with students' discrimination experiences (not supporting Hypothesis 3). Thus, even when teachers report that they intervene with discrimination, this does not seem to effectively reduce discrimination experiences among their students. One reason for this finding may be that what teachers preach and what they practice are two different things (Geerlings et al., 2019). Furthermore, even when teachers actually do try to intervene with ethnic discrimination, their perceptions of what counts as racism and ethnic discrimination may deviate from the

perceptions of their students, particularly of their ethnic minority students (Carter & Murphy, 2015). We will discuss this aspect in more detail as part of a broader gap between teacher-reported approaches and ethnic minority students' perceptions below.

We did find though that in schools where teachers reported that they intervened with discrimination, Belgian majority students perceived more discrimination of their fellow ethnic minority students. This may indicate that teachers intervene more with discrimination in schools where there is more peer victimization taking place. To test this assumption, we examined correlations between teacher-reported intervening with racism and discrimination, and students' perceived peer victimization as measured at the same time point. However, the two were neither associated among Belgian majority students (r = .03), nor among Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students (r =.07). An alternative explanation may be that explicitly addressing and discussing racism and discrimination at school can contribute to students' awareness of these issues, i.e. to their critical consciousness (Freire, 1970/2018; Heberle et al., 2020). A classroom climate in which social inequity and racism was actively discussed was related to higher perceptions of discrimination and more anti-racism action among ethnically diverse secondary students in the US (Bañales et al., 2019; Byrd, 2017) and in Germany (Schwarzenthal et al., 2022). Since our final scale of teacher-reported approaches did not include items explicitly assessing critical consciousness socialization, future research should examine how teacher-reported critical consciousness socialization is associated with their students' critical consciousness.

Color-Evasion

Teacher-reported color-evasion was not associated with students' interethnic relations in preliminary analyses, and was therefore excluded from the main-analyses. The lack of associations for color-evasion may reflect that the construct of color-evasion has different situated meanings in different societies, and that in the Belgian context, it mainly conveys an emphasis on individual talents and rights. This focus on individual aspects may entail that

teachers pursuing color-evasive approaches send few explicit messages about the role of ethnic group memberships, and therefore do not directly contribute to students' interethnic relations. This is not to say that color-evasion cannot have detrimental effects on interethnic relations. These detrimental effects may be most pronounced when color-evasion goes along with ignoring power differences in society (Neville et al., 2013), which may lead to failure to redress discrimination and injustice faced by ethnic minority students. Future research should delve further into different nuances of color-evasive approaches (i.e., power-evasion, focus on individualism, focus on commonalities) and their effects in the school context.

One School – Different Perceptions?

Almost all associations found in our study were on the side of the Belgian majority students. Regarding ethnic attitudes, these results are less surprising as effects of school diversity approaches on ethnic attitudes are typically stronger among ethnic majority members (Schwarzenthal et al., 2019; Schwarzenthal et al., 2018). More surprising, however, is the lack of associations between teacher diversity approaches and Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students' discrimination experiences and perceptions. As ethnic minority members are typically the ones experiencing higher amounts of ethnic discrimination in society, with detrimental effects on their adjustment (Hughes et al., 2016; Verkuyten et al., 2019), it is particularly important that teachers develop strategies to protect this group from discrimination and to provide a safe environment at school. Thus, it is crucial to find out why there seems to be a gap between teacher reports of diversity approaches and Turkish- and Moroccan-origin minority students' discrimination experiences.

To test a potential explanation for the lack of associations between teacher-reported diversity approaches and students' discrimination experiences, we ran exploratory analyses examining the mediating role of student perceptions of teacher approaches. Teacher-reported approaches were largely unrelated to student perceptions of these approaches, and associa-

tions were particularly absent among Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students. Interestingly, though, student *perceptions* of teacher approaches were associated with more positive ethnic attitudes and lower discrimination experiences and perceptions, at both the individual at the school level, and among both Belgian majority and Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students. Thus, it does not seem to be the case that what teachers do is irrelevant for students' interethnic relations. Instead, within the same school there are different perceptions of what teachers are doing, particularly between teachers and Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students. This is in line with previous findings demonstrating a gap in perceptions of diversity approaches between (mainly ethnic majority) teachers and ethnic minority students (Civitillo et al., 2016).

The dissociation of teacher and student perceptions of diversity approaches in school may have several reasons: In spite of large student samples, the number of schools as contextual units was rather small, particularly for detecting contextual effects of school-level teacher approaches in Turkish- or Moroccan-origin student subsamples, as suggested by post-hoc power analysis (cf. Arend and Schäfer, 2019)[6]. Second, the gap between (largely ethnic majority) teachers and students' perceptions may be explained with the principle-implementation gap. The principle-implementation gap suggests that ethnic majority members tend to accept norms of equality as an ideal, but oppose interventions or policies designed to achieve that ideal (Dixon et al., 2017). Thus, even though teachers may say that they "intervene with discrimination", they may show reluctance to implement concrete interventions. This, in turn, may result in students not perceiving their teachers as effectively

[6] Specifically, in our study, the aim was to detect a direct effect at L2 (i.e., the school level). According to Arend and Schäfer's (2019, p. 15) simulation results, in our ethnic minority subsample, based on a sample size of 52 at L2, an average number of 13 students per cluster, and a small ICC, our analysis was able to detect a minimum effect size of .48 at a power of .80. Among our ethnic majority subsample, based on a sample size of 62 at L2, an average number of 20 students per cluster, and small to medium ICCs, our analyses were able to detect effect sizes of .37 to.42 at a power of .80. In previous research investigating relations between school diversity approaches and student intergroup relations (Schwarzenthal et al., 2018), standardized regression coefficients of ≈.30 were observed at the classroom level.

intervening with discrimination. Third, the gap may partly stem from different perceptions of "what counts as" discrimination among ethnic majority and minority members (Dixon et al., 2017). For example, ethnic majority members are less likely to view subtle and structural types of racism as racism than ethnic minority members (Carter & Murphy, 2015). Thus, teachers, who are mostly members of the ethnic majority (Santoro, 2013) may be less likely to perceive incidents of subtle or structural types of racism and discrimination as problematic and may not see it necessary to address them, resulting in a gap between teacher-reported intervening with discrimination and ethnic minority students' discrimination experiences and perceptions. Fourth, even if teachers do perceive instances of racism or discrimination, they may intervene poorly or may themselves reinforce discriminatory treatment with detrimental effects on ethnic minority students' adjustment (Verkuyten, Thijs, & Gharaei, 2019).

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

Our study contributes to the literature by investigating different types of teacher-reported diversity approaches and their associations with different aspects of student interethnic relations among both ethnic majority and minority students, but it also has some limitations. Even though we used data from a large-scale study conducted in schools, the sample size at the school level was small (N = 62 for the Belgian majority sample, N = 52 for the Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority sample), which may have hindered finding significant associations between variables at the school level.

We measured teacher approaches at wave 2, and student outcomes at wave 3, but since teacher approaches were only assessed at one time point, we were not able to test potential cross-lagged effects. Thus, even though we assumed that teacher approaches would predict students' interethnic relations based on theoretical arguments, it is also possible that students' interethnic relations have an impact on teacher approaches. For example, in a school where students endorse positive attitudes towards ethnic minority members, it may also be easier for teachers to pursue a multicultural strategy.

Drawing on large-scale secondary CILS data in Belgium, we could only use 9 out of 11 available indicators to distinguish between teacher diversity approaches. Our four-factor solution successfully validated four theoretically coherent and distinct diversity approaches as reported by teachers (see Supplemental Materials A). While the use of composite indices of just two or three indicators based on CFA is common practice in large-scale survey research (e.g., Baysu et al, 2016), follow-up studies among school teachers may add more indicators of each approach to form more reliable subscales (Eisinga et al., 2012; Watkins, 2018).

We acknowledge that the available measures of student perceptions in our data were limited and did not fully match our measures of teacher diversity approaches. Therefore, we can only draw preliminary conclusions about the (lack of) associations between teacher diversity approaches and student perceptions of these approaches. While the explanatory focus of this study was primarily on teacher-reported approaches, future research should throw more light on both ethnic majority and minority student perspectives and how they differ from teachers' perspectives by extending our measures of students' perceptions of teacher approaches (e.g., to what extent do they perceive teachers' assimilationist and color-evasive messages or practices in class?).

Future research should investigate further to what extent teachers "practice what they preach" (Geerlings et al., 2019), also in light of known 'principle- implementation gaps' in dealing with diversity issues more generally (Dixon et al., 2017). More specifically, teacher reports may be supplemented with other school-level data, such as observations of teachers' actual diversity practices, diversity-related messages or rules in school policy documents (Celeste et al., 2019), or diversity cues in the physical school environment (Civitillo et al., 2016). Furthermore, it may be important to investigate gaps between ethnic majority teachers and ethnic minority students' perceptions of what "counts as" racism (Carter & Murphy, 2015), and when it is necessary for teachers to intervene.

While teachers' own ethnic background may affect how their diversity approaches are

perceived by ethnic minority and majority students, due to small numbers of teachers of non-Western heritage (*N*=30) our data did not allow us to analyze this subgroup separately. Given the continuing underrepresentation of ethnic minorities in the teaching force, follow-up research should specifically target ethnic minority teachers to better understand the role of ethnic congruence in teacher-student relations

Implications

Additional research employing larger sample sizes, longitudinal designs and more fine-grained measures is necessary to confirm the findings obtained in this research. Provided that this research obtains similar results, it has important implications for schools. First, they suggest a need for further teacher training on engaging with an increasingly ethnically diverse student population. As schools as microcosms of society may have the potential to impact interethnic relations, it is important that teacher education programs prepare teachers how to constructively incorporate issues around ethnicity and culture into their practices and how to promote positive interethnic relations among their students. Second, it is important that teachers have the opportunity to reflect how their practices may be perceived by different student populations, which requires incorporating the perspectives of different ethnic minority groups into teacher education and training. One way to do this is to diversify the teacher population itself. However, relying on diversification of the teacher population alone may also put unreasonable expectations on ethnic minority teachers as being able to represent the perspectives of all ethnic minority student populations (Santoro, 2013). Further methods to incorporate the perspectives of different ethnic groups into teacher education and training may be to use literature and teaching materials representing perspectives of different ethnic minority groups, or to promote relations between educational institutions and ethnic minority communities. Third, students' with different ethnic backgrounds could be actively involved in developing a school's diversity approach. Teachers may be encouraged to actively ask their (ethnic minority) students about their perspectives on a school's diversity approach (i.e., to

engage in "perspective-getting", Eyal et al., 2018). Going even further, participatory approaches such as youth participatory action research (YPAR; Aldana & Richards-Schuster, 2021) may be drawn upon to further develop a school's diversity approach. These approaches acknowledge that youth are experts in their own lives and possess the ability to identify problems and possible solutions in their social environment. Using participatory approaches could help reduce existing hierarchies between teachers and students, and turn teachers into allies and mentors who help to elevate the voices of diverse youth. Fourth, our findings are of particular relevance for school psychologists. Negative attitudes and resulting discrimination experiences have detrimental effects on ethnic minority students' academic and socioemotional adjustment (Hughes et al., 2016). To prevent negative adjustment and to promote students' school engagement and well-being, school psychologists may support teachers in engaging in self-reflection on their own diversity approaches and potential consequences for ethnic minority and majority students and interethnic relations in their classrooms. As teachers' active interventions with discrimination were associated with more awareness of discrimination among the ethnic majority students in our study, school psychologists may also offer workshops discussing incidents of discrimination with students, or train teachers how to best respond to discriminatory interactions or incidents in class, or how to promote ethnic majority students' critical awareness, and possibly encourage them to act as allies to ethnic minority students when they are targets of discrimination. Moreover, school psychologists may develop collaborative and participatory meetings where teachers and students exchange views on a school's diversity approach, and join forces to challenge interethnic hierarchies in the school context.

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Table 1

Table 1
Individual-Level Bivariate Correlations and Descriptives (Separately for Belgian Majority and Turkish- or Moroccan-Origin Minority Students)

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
1. Age (w2)	-	-.05†	-.12***	-.05	-.03	.08*	-.00	-.11***	-.07*
2. Gender (0=male, 1=female)(w2)	-.08†	-	-.01	-.03	.11***	-.05	.00	.04	-.04
3. Parental education (w2)	-.05	.03	-	.08**	.05	-.09**	-.09**	.02	.04
4. Student attitudes towards Belgian majority members (for Belgian majority students)/towards either Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority members (for Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students) (w3)	.00	.03	.08†	-	-.02	-.11***	-.08**	.06*	.13***
5. Student attitudes towards Turkish- and Moroccan-origin minority members (for Belgian majority students)/towards Belgian majority members (for Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students) (w3)	.07†	-.03	.07†	.15***	-	-.13***	-.10**	.15***	.09**
6. Student discrimination experiences (w3)	-.09*	-.14***	.10*	-.11**	-.16***	-	.23***	-.10***	-.08**
7. Student perceived discrimination of ethnic minority students (w3)	.04	-.07†	-.00	-.10*	-.21***	.61***	-	-.17***	-.10**
8. Student perception of respectful treatment at school (w2)	-.03	-.04	.05	.03	.05	-.17***	-.18***	-	.41***
9. Student perception of teachers intervening with discrimination (w2)	-.02	-.06	.03	.04	.16***	-.13**	-.11**	.37***	-
M(*SD*) Belgian majority students	15.52 (1.03)	51% (0.50)	2.52 (0.54)	86.36 (16.92)	52.01 (23.27)	1.17 (0.50)	1.61 (0.69)	3.96 (0.75)	3.64 (0.77)
M(*SD*) Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students	15.92 (1.17)	58% (0.49)	2.05 (0.59)	86.59 (21.06)	61.03 (27.21)	1.43 (0.77)	1.90 (0.88)	3.94 (0.98)	3.34 (0.99)
Range	13-20	0 vs. 1	1-3	0-100	0-100	1-4	1-4	1-5	1-5

Note. N = 1287 Belgian majority students, above diagonal, and N = 696 Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students, below diagonal; w2 = measured at wave 2, w3 = measured at wave 3. $^{\dagger}p < .10$. $^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$

Table 2

Table 2
School-Level Bivariate Correlations and Descriptives (Separately for Belgian Majority and Turkish- or Moroccan-Origin Minority Students)

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
1. Ethnic composition (1 = >60% students speaking foreign language at home) (w2)	-	-.05	.09	.01	-.12	-.45***	.36**	.27*	.28*	-.03	-.11
2. Teacher assimilationism (w2)	.00	-	-.27*.	31*	.12	.34*	-.11	.20	-.09	.03.	.28*
3. Teacher multiculturalism (w2)	.21	-.31*	-	-.28*	.35*	-.31*	.23†	-.09	-.02	.21	.02
4. Teacher color-evasion (w2)	.08	.36*	-.12	-	-.21	.08	-.06	-.09	.14	-.19	-.09
5. Teacher intervening with racism and discrimination (w2)	-.21	.17	.18	-.19	-	-.03	-.05	-.01	.12	.21	-.02
6. Attitudes towards Belgian majority members (for Belgian majority students) /towards either Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority members (for Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students) (w3)	.00	.12	.16	-.04	-.09	-	-.10	.11	-.54***	-.21†	.17
7. Attitudes towards Turkish- and Moroccan-origin minority members (for Belgian majority students)/towards Belgian majority members (for Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students) (w3)	-.31*	-.17	-.34*	-.17	-.26†	-.01	-	.20	-.12	.00	-.02
8. Discrimination experiences (w3)	.02	.00	.14	.15	-.04	-.33*	-.32*	-	-.03	-.36**	-.18
9. Perceived discrimination of ethnic minority students (w3)	-.13	-.01	.06	.08	.07	-.03	-.22	.68***	-	-.09	-.37**
10. Perception of respectful treatment at school (w2)	.19	-.14	.58***	-.19	-.03	.43**	.09	-.35*	-.34*	-	.55***
11. Perception of teachers intervening with racism and discrimination (w2)	.07	.04	.16	-.05	-.01	.09	.27†	-.15	-.23	.34*	-

Note. N = 1287 Belgian majority students in 62 schools and N = 696 Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students in 52 schools; correlations for Belgian majority students above diagonal, correlations for Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students below diagonal; w2 = measured at wave 2, w3 = measured at wave 3. $^{\dagger}p < .10$. $^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$

Table 3

Results of Multilevel Path Analyses with Ethnic Attitudes

	Belgian Majority Students		**Turkish- or Moroccan-Origin Minority Students**	
	Attitudes towards Belgian majority members (w3)	Attitudes towards Turkish- and Moroccan-origin minority members (w3)	Attitudes towards Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority members (w3)	Attitudes towards Belgian majority members (w3)
	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)
School level				
Intercept	11.57****(2.43)	4.88(3.78)	15.59*(7.09)	29.25(22.97)
Predictors				
Ethnic composition (1 = >60% students speaking foreign language at home) (w2)	7.47***(1.93)	0.39**(0.12)	-0.15(0.17)	-0.44(0.29)
Teacher assimilationism (w2)	0.18† (0.10)	-0.09(0.19)	0.30(0.27)	0.01(0.41)
Teacher multiculturalism (w2)	-0.17* (0.07)	0.34(0.22)	0.59† (.31)	-0.40(0.59)
Teacher intervening with discrimination (w2)	0.06 (0.04)	-0.04(0.22)	-0.46*(0.22)	-0.67(0.73)
Interactions				
Ethnic composition * teacher assimilationism	-	-	-	-
Ethnic composition * teacher multiculturalism	-8.25***(1.87)	-	-	-
Ethnic composition * teacher intervening with racism	-	-	-	-
R^2 school level	.95***	.29*	.42	.90
Model fit	χ^2/df=10.39/6=1.73, *p*=0.11, RMSEA = .02, CFI = 0.99, $SRMR_{within}$= .00, $SRMR_{between}$=.06, AIC = 21243.20		χ^2/df=6.83/3=2.28, *p*=0.08, RMSEA = .04, CFI = .89 , $SRMR_{within}$= .00, $SRMR_{between}$=.09, AIC = 12021.03	

Note. *N* = 1287 Belgian majority students in 62 schools and *N* = 696 Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students in 52 schools. w2 = measured at wave 2, w3 = measured at wave 3. $^{\dagger}p < .10$. $^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$

Table 4

Results of Multilevel Path Analyses with Discrimination as Outcome Variables

	Belgian Majority Students		**Turkish- or Moroccan-Origin Minority Students**	
	Discrimination experiences (w3)	Discrimination perceptions (w3)	Discrimination experiences (w3)	Discrimination perceptions (w3)
	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)
School level				
Intercept	4.74*(1.84)	3.60(3.25)	8.39(9.25)	5.24(13.07)
Predictors				
Ethnic composition (1 = >60% students speaking foreign language at home) (w2)	-3.44†(1.87)	6.41***(1.27)	-0.19(0.28)	-0.43(0.51)
Teacher assimilationism (w2)	0.15 (0.19)	0.28(0.20)	0.10(0.43)	-0.14(0.78)
Teacher multiculturalism (w2)	-0.16 (0.16)	-.0.20(0.16)	0.49(0.53)	0.64(2.26)
Teacher intervening with discrimination (w2)	0.14 (0.13)	0.20*(0.09)	-0.14(0.43)	0.04(0.60)
Interactions				
Ethnic composition *teacher assimilationism	3.81*(1.91)	-5.92***(1.36)	-	-
Ethnic composition *teacher multiculturalism		-	-	-
Ethnic composition *teacher intervening with discrimination	-	-	-	-
R^2 school level	.37†	.66***	.24	.67
Model fit	χ^2/df=5.86/5=1.17, p=0.32, RMSEA = .01, CFI = 1.00 , $SRMR_{within}$= .00, $SRMR_{between}$=.06, AIC = 404624.36		χ^2/df=6.157/3=2.05, p=0.10, RMSEA = .04, CFI = .99 , $SRMR_{within}$= .00, $SRMR_{between}$=.13, AIC = 3121.46	

Note. N = 1287 Belgian majority students in 62 schools and N = 696 Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students in 52 schools. w2 = measured at wave 2, w3 = measured at wave 3. $^{\dagger}p < .10$. $^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$

Figure 1

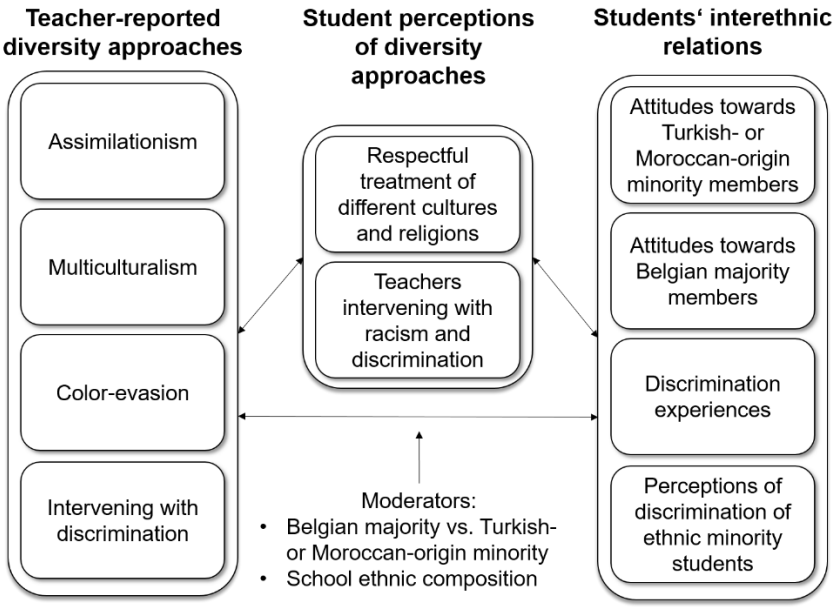

Figure 1 Comprehensive hypothetical model

Figure 2

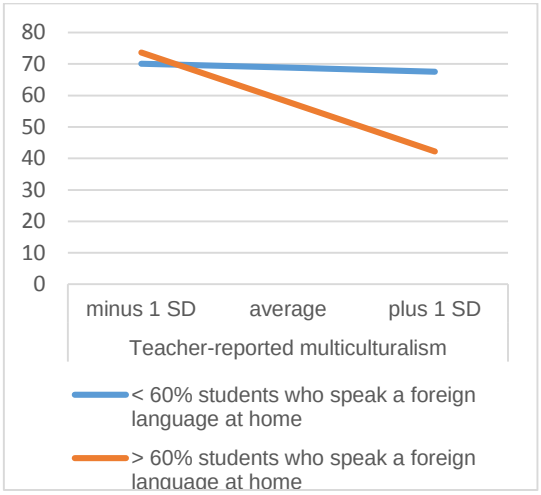

Figure 2 Interaction of teacher-reported multiculturalism with ethnic composition on Belgian majority students' attitudes towards Belgian majority members.

Figure 3

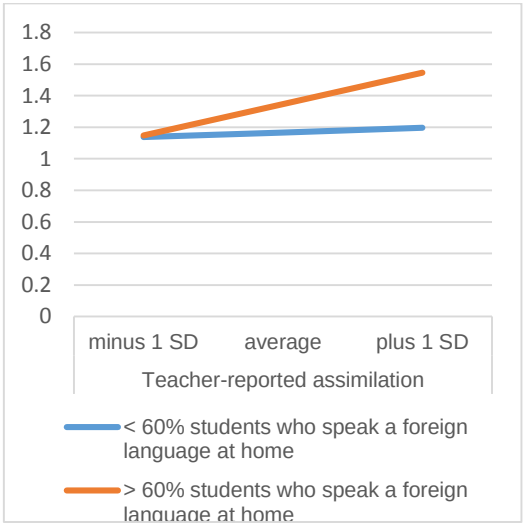

Figure 3 Interaction of teacher-reported assimilationism with ethnic composition on discrimination experiences among Belgian majority students

Figure 4

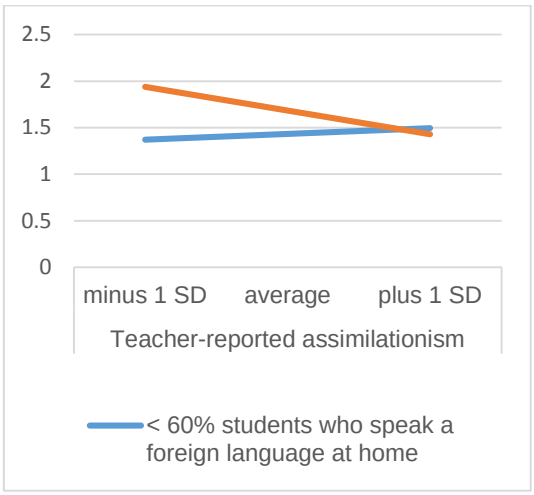

Figure 4 Interaction of teacher-reported assimilationism with ethnic composition on perceived discrimination of ethnic minority students by Belgian majority students

Supplemental Materials A. EFAs and CFAs of Teacher Diversity Approaches

The items of the teacher diversity approaches were adapted from Meeussen et al. (2014) but used for the first time in this survey. Therefore, we first ran preliminary PCAs in SPSS, followed by exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses in Mplus.

Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant (<.001) and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure was .79, justifying the application of exploratory factor analysis (Watkins, 2018).

At first sight, the PCAs in SPSS as well as the exploratory factor analysis in Mplus suggested that both the 3-factor solution and the 4-factor solution showed sufficiently high eigenvalues/acceptable fit, respectively (for the results of the exploratory factor analyses in Mplus, see Table A1).

Table A1. *Results of Exploratory Factor Analyses in Mplus (1 factor to 4 factors)*

No. of factors	No. of parameters	χ^2/df	CFI	RMSEA	SRMR	Model comparison
1	33	10.49^{***}	0.67	0.13	0.11	
2	43	6.89^{***}	.84	.10	.05	1-factor against 2-factor: $\chi^2/df=18.94^{***}$
3	52	3.77^{***}	.95	.07	.03	2-factor against 3-factor: $\chi^2/df=15.90^{***}$
4	60	1.85^{*}	.99	.04	.02	3-factor against 4-factor: $\chi^2/df=7.37^{***}$

Note. $^{*}p<.05$, $^{**}p<.01$, $^{***}p<.001$

However, in both the PCA results in SPSS, as well as in the EFA results in MPlus, inspection of the 3-factor solution revealed a number of problematic cross-loadings (see Table A2). For example, the items intended to capture assimilationism partially loaded onto a factor that also comprised "intervening with discrimination" items, as well as on a factor that also comprised "individualism" items, while these approaches have been clearly distinguished in the theoretical literature. According to Watkins (2018), in acceptable EFA solutions, each variable should load saliently on only one factor (no complex or cross-loadings) and all factors should be theoretically meaningful. Therefore, we decided to not proceed with the three-factor solution.

Table A2. *Factor loadings of 3-factor solution in the EFA*

	Geomin-rotated loadings		
	1	2	3
I take firm action against racism and discrimination in class	0.360^{*}	0.175	0.117^{*}
I tell my students they may not discriminate fellow students with a different cultural background or origin	0.687^{*}	0.146	0.012
I talk to my students about racism and discrimination	0.346^{*}	0.476^{*}	-0.049
I use teaching materials in which social and cultural diversity are covered	0.202^{*}	0.519^{*}	-0.070
I find it important to take the cultural background of students into account	-0.007	0.569^{*}	-0.155^{*}
I expect Belgian students to try to learn something from the customs and values of students with a different cultural background	-0.119	0.818^{*}	0.027
I pay attention to cultural diversity with students in a positive way	0.029	0.857^{*}	0.047
I expect students with a different cultural background other than Belgian to behave like all other students	0.393^{*}	0.005	0.319^{*}
I expect students with a different cultural background other than Belgian to adapt to Belgian customs	0.322^{*}	-0.203^{*}	0.335^{*}

I treat students as individuals and pay as little attention as possible to their cultural background	-0.181*	0.007	0.727*
I don't consider the cultural background of students, but only their performance	0.000	-0.058	0.653*

Note. *p<.05, problematic cross-loadings are marked in red

The factors identified by the four-factor solution were overall much more clearly interpretable. However, throughout the PCAs in SPSS and the EFAs in Mplus, two items ("I use teaching materials in which social and cultural diversity are covered" and "I talk to my students about racism and discrimination") showed unclear loadings, sometimes loading onto the multiculturalism factor, and sometimes loading onto the intervening with discrimination factor. In order to have clearly distinguishable factors, these two items were removed from the scale. The resulting 4-factor solution was in line with theoretical expectations, and showed adequate fit: $\chi^2 = 80.21$, df=21, CFI = .93, RMSEA = .07, SRMR = .05 (for complete factor loadings, please see the Table A3).

While using factors that are formed by 2 items is not optimal, since the location of these factors may be imprecise (e.g, see Watkins, 2018), the one- , two-, or three-factor solutions showed either unacceptable fit indices or a number of problematic cross-loadings, which prevented us from selecting a solution with fewer factors. In addition, according to Watkins (2018) overfactoring (i.e., selecting a higher number of factors) generally alters the solution less than underfactoring (i.e,. selecting a lower of factors), since in underfactoring, factors may be falsely combined into a single factor. Therefore, we selected the four-factor solution for our analyses.

Table A3
Standardized Factor Loadings of Teacher Diversity Approaches (Geomin-Rotated CFA)

	Factor 1 Assimila-tionism	Factor 2 Color-evasion	Factor 3 Multi-culturalism	Factor 4 Intervening with discrimination
I expect students with a different cultural background other than Belgian to behave like all other students.	.70***			
I expect students with a different cultural background other than Belgian to adapt to Belgian customs	.57***			
I treat students as individuals and pay as little attention as possible to their cultural background		.67***		
I don't consider the cultural background of students, but only their performance		.74***		
I find it important to take the cultural background of students into account			.60***	
I expect Belgian students to try to learn something from the customs and values of students with a different cultural background			.76***	
I pay attention to cultural diversity with students in a positive way			.87***	
I take firm action against racism and discrimination in class				.48***

I tell my students they may not discriminate fellow students with a different cultural background or heritage	.81***

Note. N=547 teachers, $^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$. Excluded based on EFA results: „I talk to my students about racism and discrimination“, „I use teaching materials in which social and cultural diversity are covered“

Supplemental Materials B. Bivariate Correlations and Descriptives of Teacher Diversity Approaches at the Individual Level

Table B

Bivariate Correlations and Descriptives of Teacher Diversity Approaches at the Individual Level

	1.	2.	3.	4.
1. Assimilationism	-	.26***	-.04	.24***
2. Color-evasion		-	-.22***	-.02
3. Multiculturalism			-	.34***
4. Intervening with racism and discrimination				-
M(*SD*)	4.66(0.91)	4.27(1.32)	4.39(1.01)	5.46(0.67)

Note. *N*=547 teachers. $^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$

Supplemental Materials C. Correlations (Full Sample)

Table C
School-Bivariate Correlations and Descriptives (Full Sample)

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
1. Ethnic composition (1 = >60% students speaking foreign language at home) (w2)	-	-.02	.06	.14	-.10	-.35**	.14	.33*	.27*	.07	-.23†
2. Teacher assimilationism (w2)		-	.32*	-.24†	.12	.16	-.12	.13	.13	-.10	.17
3. Teacher color-evasion (w2)			-	-.24†	-.20	.06	-.03	.05	.15	-.41**	-.03
4. Teacher multiculturalism (w2)				-	.34*	-.21	.21	.02	.01	.51***	.10
5. Teacher addressing racism and discrimination (w2)					-	-.06	-.06	.04	.15	.33*	-.06
6. Attitude towards Belgian majority members (for Belgian majority students)/attitude towards Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority members (for Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students) (w3)						-	.04	-.40**	-.21	-.14	.22
7. Attitude towards Turkish- and Moroccan- origin minority members (for Belgian majority students)/attitude towards Belgian majority members (for Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students) (w3)							-	.06	-.15	.21	0.19
8. Discrimination experiences (w3)								-	.53**	.03	-.35**
9. Perceived discrimination (w3)									-	-.32*	-.40**
10. Perception of respectful treatment at school (w2)										-	.17
11. Perception of teachers addressing racism and discrimination (w2)											-

Note. N = 64 schools; w2 = measured at wave 2, w3 = measured at wave 3. $^{\dagger}p < .10$. $^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$

Supplemental Materials D. Attrition Analyses

Out of 3113 students who participated in wave 2 and fulfilled the criteria for inclusion in this study (i.e., were either Belgian majority or Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority), 1983 (64%) also participated in wave 3. Among those who dropped out, a slightly bigger proportion (39%) were Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority than in the final sample (35%), $t(2303.93) = 2.27$, $p = .02$, 95% CI [.01, .08], and males were overrepresented (54% vs. 46%), $t(2336.71) = -4.00$, $p = .000$, 95% CI [-.11, -.04]. Compared to those who remained in the study, the students who dropped out experienced more discrimination at wave 2 (M =1.31, SD =0.65 vs. M = 1.21, SD =0.53), $t(1847.27) = 3.94$, $p = .000$, 95% CI [.05, .14], but the difference was small. This is in line with earlier findings of higher attrition rates among ethnic minority students (Celeste et al., 2019), so that they are more likely to change schools or leave school than ethnic majority peers (Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 2003). Along those lines, ethnic minority students' discrimination experiences predict lower school belonging and engagement as robust precursors of early school leaving (Baysu et al., 2020; Heikamp et al., 2020).

Supplemental Materials E. School-Level Intraclass Correlations (ICCs) of Student Scales

Table E
School-Level Intraclass Correlations of Student Scales

	Belgian majority students	Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students
Attitude towards Belgian majority members (for Belgian majority students)/attitude towards Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority members (for Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students)	.14	.07
Attitude towards Turkish- and Moroccan-origin minority members (for Belgian majority students)/attitude towards Belgian majority members (for Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students) (w3)	.10	.06
Discrimination experiences (w3)	.10	.02
Perceived discrimination of students with a foreign background (w 3)	.07	.04
Perceptions of respectful treatment at school(w2)	.06	.05
Perceptions of teachers intervening with racism and discrimination (w2)	.07	.09

Note. *N*=1983 students (*N* = 1287 Belgian majority in 62 schools and *N* = 696 Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority in 52 schools). w2 = measured at wave 2, w3 = measured at wave 3.

Supplemental Materials F. Multilevel Mediation Models

Ethnic Attitudes as Outcome – Belgian Majority Students

Table F1
Results of Multilevel Mediation Analyses with Ethnic Attitudes as Outcome Variables – Belgian Majority Students

	Student perceptions of respectful treatment as mediator			**Student perceptions of teachers intervening with discrimination as mediator**		
	Student perceptions of respectful treatment (w2)	Attitudes towards Belgian majority members (w3)	Attitudes towards Turkish- and Moroccan-origin minority members (w3)	Student perceptions of teachers intervening w. discrimination (w2)	Attitudes towards Belgian majority members (w3)	Attitudes towards Turkish- and Moroccan-origin minority members (w3)
	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)
Individual level						
Control variables						
Age (w2)	-0.07(0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.03)
Gender (0=*male*, 1=*female*) (w2)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.05 (0.04)	-0.06 (0.04)	0.02 (0.03)	0.05 (0.04)
Parental education (w2)	0.03 (0.04)	0.07* (0.03)	0.05 (0.04)	0.02 (0.03)	0.07* (0.03)	0.05 (0.04)
Predictors						
Student perceptions of respectful treatment (w2)	-	0.10* (0.04)	0.12** (0.04)	-		
Student perceptions of teachers intervening with discrimination (w2)	-	-	-	-	0.14** (0.04)	0.08* (0.03)
R^2 individual level	.01 (0.01)	.02† (0.01)	.02† (0.01)	.01 (0.01)	0.03* (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
School level						
Intercept	20.25 (5.59)	17.28 (5.67)	-5.91 (6.69)	14.73* (6.67)	15.04** (4.33)	-0.56 (8.24)
Predictors						
Ethnic composition (1 = >60% students speaking foreign language at home) (w2)	-0.16 (0.23)	8.06*** (1.71)	0.50** (0.17)	-0.36* (0.17)	7.96*** (1.80)	0.54** (0.20)
Teacher assimilationism (w2)	-0.12 (0.19)	0.27† (0.14)	0.01 (0.17)	0.33† (0.18)	0.36* (0.17)	-0.15 (0.17)
Teacher multiculturalism (w2)	0.30 (0.20)	-0.18* (0.09)	0.23 (0.20)	0.37† (0.20)	-0.19 (0.12)	0.24 (0.22)
Teacher intervening with discrimination (w2)	0.32 (0.24)	0.17† (0.10)	-0.20 (0.15)	-0.17 (0.13)	0.06 (0.12)	0.03 (0.27)
Student perceptions of respectful treatment (w2)	-	-0.23 (0.23)	0.51† (0.27)			
Student perceptions of teachers intervening with discrimination (w2)	-	-	-		-0.14 (0.16)	0.32 (0.38)
Interactions						
Ethnic composition * teacher multiculturalism	-	-8.73*** (1.77)			-8.65*** (1.89)	
R^2 school level	.30 (0.18)	.94***(0.20)	.50* (0.21)	.29 (0.19)	0.93**(0.35)	.39† (0.22)
Model fit	χ^2/df=10.54/7=1.51, *p*=0.16, RMSEA = .02, CFI = 0.99, $SRMR_{within}$= .01, $SRMR_{between}$=.07, AIC = 22680.43			χ^2/df=8.14/7=1.16, *p*=0.32, RMSEA = .01, CFI = 1.00, $SRMR_{within}$= .01, $SRMR_{between}$=.07, AIC = 22756.35		

Note. N = 1287 Belgian majority students in 62 schools. w2 = measured at wave 2, w3 = measured at wave 3. $^{\dagger}p < .10$. $^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$

Robustness checks were run excluding the control variables and ethnic composition. When these variables were excluded, the positive associations between teacher-reported multiculturalism and perceptions of respectful treatment, as well as between perceptions of respectful treatment and attitudes towards Turkish or Moroccan-origin minority members at the school level were not only marginally, but fully significant. The positive associations between teacher-reported assimilation and multiculturalism and students' perceptions of teachers intervening with discrimination were now not only marginally, but fully significant. Moreover, student perceptions of teachers intervening with discrimination were now positively associated with their attitudes towards the Belgian majority group.

Ethnic Attitudes as Outcome – Turkish- or Moroccan-Origin Minority Students

Table F2

Results of Multilevel Mediation Analyses with Ethnic Attitudes as Outcome Variables – Turkish or Moroccan-Origin Minority Students (Using FIML to Estimate Missings on Teacher Diversity Approaches)

	Student perceptions of respectful treatment as mediator			**Student perceptions of teachers intervening with discrimination as mediator**		
	Student perceptions of respectful treatment (w2)	Attitude towards Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority members (w3)	Attitude towards Belgian majority members (w3)	Student perceptions of teachers intervening w. discrimination (w2)	Attitude towards Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority members (w3)	Attitude towards Belgian majority members (w3)
	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)
Individual level						
Control variables						
Age (w2)	-0.01 (0.163)	-0.01 (0.06)	0.01 (0.07)	0.01 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.06)	0.00 (0.05)
Gender (0=*male*, 1=*female*) (w2)	-0.05 (0.05)	0.02 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.04)	0.02 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.04)
Parental education (w2)	0.08 (0.05)	0.08 (0.06)	0.04 (0.04)	0.03 (0.05)	0.08 (0.06)	0.04 (0.04)
Predictors						
Student perceptions of respectful treatment (w2)	-	0.04 (0.08)	0.06 (0.04)	-	-	-
Student perceptions of teachers intervening with discrimination (w2)	-	-	-	-	0.02 (0.04)	0.13** (0.04)
R^2 individual level	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02† (0.01)
School level						
Intercept	-1.30	13.66 (17.76)	27.73* (13.39)	8.41 (6.50)	8.18 (8.05)	17.99** (5.41)
Predictors						
Ethnic composition (1 = >60% students speaking foreign language at home) (w2)	0.29 (0.61)	0.11 (3.35)	-0.66 (0.40)	0.13 (0.22)	-0.17 (0.17)	-0.50*** (0.13)
Teacher assimilationism (w2)	0.27 (0.36)	0.60 (4.36)	-0.16 (0.97)	0.13 (0.19)	0.27 (0.27)	-0.13 (0.18)
Teacher multiculturalism (w2)	0.81 (1.42)	1.35 (13.21)	-0.80 (0.809)	-0.07 (0.33)	0.66† (0.35)	-0.27 (0.38)
Teacher intervening with discrimination (w2)	0.21 (1.68)	-0.26 (1.36)	-0.88 (0.66)	0.10 (0.31)	-0.48* (0.22)	-0.58** (0.18)
Student perceptions of respectful treatment (w2)	-	-0.94 (14.33)	0.78 (1.59)	-	-	-
Student perceptions of teachers intervening with discrimination (w2)	-	-	-	-	0.36 (0.33)	0.66*** (0.17)
R^2 school level	0.79 (0.75)	0.62 (5.94)	0.90 (1.91)	0.06 (0.15)	0.57 (0.43)	0.99*** (0.10)
Model fit	χ^2/df=17.88/6=0.01, p=0.01, RMSEA = .05, CFI = 0.80, $SRMR_{within}$= .02, $SRMR_{between}$=.11, AIC = 18112.55			χ^2/df=40.86/6=6.81, p<.001, RMSEA = .09, CFI = 0.42, $SRMR_{within}$= .03, $SRMR_{between}$=.07, AIC = 18124.89		

Note. *N* = 696 Turkish or Moroccan-origin minority students in 52 schools. w2 = measured at wave 2, w3 = measured at wave 3. $^{\dagger}p < .10$. $^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$

Robustness checks were run excluding the control variables and ethnic composition, but this did not affect the results.

Estimation of the mediation models in the ethnic minority group led to very bad model fit. One reason may be that we used FIML to estimate missings on the teacher approach predictors, which may have asked too much from the models with a rather small sample size. Therefore, we ran the analyses again only including those students for whom data for teacher-reported diversity approaches was available (see Table F3)

Table F3

Results of Multilevel Mediation Analyses with Ethnic Attitudes as Outcome Variables – Turkish or Moroccan-Origin Minority Students (Only Including Students for Which Teacher-Reported Data was Available)

	Student perceptions of respectful treatment as mediator			**Student perceptions of teachers intervening with discrimination as mediator**		
	Student perceptions of respectful treatment (w2)	Attitude towards Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority members (w3)	Attitude towards Belgian majority members (w3)	Student perceptions of teachers intervening w. discrimination (w2)	Attitude towards Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority members (w3)	Attitude towards Belgian majority members (w3)
	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)
Individual level						
Control variables						
Age (w2)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.05)	0.02 (0.06)	0.05 (0.05)	0.02 (0.05)	0.02 (0.05)
Gender (0=*male*, 1=*female*) (w2)	-0.07 (0.04)	0.00 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.04)	0.00 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)
Parental education (w2)	0.07 (0.05)	0.08 (0.07)	0.02 (0.05)	0.02 (0.06)	0.08 (0.07)	0.03 (0.05)
Predictors						
Student perceptions of respectful treatment (w2)	-	0.01 (0.06)	0.08 (0.05)	-	-	-
Student perceptions of teachers intervening with discrimination (w2)	-	-	-	-	0.01 (0.04)	0.14** (0.05)
R^2 individual level	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.02† (0.01)
School level						
Intercept	2.04	19.90	31.10	8.41 (6.50)	8.18 (8.05)	17.99** (5.41)
Predictors						
Ethnic composition (1 = >60% students speaking foreign language at home) (w2)	0.16 (0.27)	0.36 (4.01)	-0.40 (0.27)	-0.14 (0.20)	-0.15 (0.19)	-0.39** (0.13)
Teacher assimilationism (w2)	0.28 (0.24)	1.32 (7.54)	0.21 (0.35)	0.18 (0.20)	0.23 (0.28)	-0.16 (0.13)
Teacher multiculturalism (w2)	0.90* (0.35)	3.94 (26.43)	0.37 (0.79)	0.14 (0.29)	0.63† (0.36)	-0.35 (0.39)
Teacher intervening with discrimination (w2)	0.26 (1.10)	0.42 (3.08)	-0.56 (0.83)	-0.08 (0.30)	-0.43† (0.23)	-0.51* (0.21)
Student perceptions of respectful treatment (w2)	-	-3.61 (27.92)	-0.76 (0.60)	-	-	-
Student perceptions of teachers intervening with discrimination (w2)	-	-	-	-	0.42 (0.35)	0.62** (0.19)
R^2 school level	0.98* (0.48)	0.77 (11.68)	0.96* (0.43)	0.04 (0.07)	0.61 (0.44)	0.99*** (0.12)
Model fit	χ^2/df=10.02/3=3.34, p=0.02, RMSEA = .06, CFI = 0.86, $SRMR_{within}$= .03, $SRMR_{between}$=.01, AIC = 15637.04			χ^2/df=9.03/3=3.01, p=0.03, RMSEA = .06, CFI = 0.89, $SRMR_{within}$= .03, $SRMR_{between}$=.01, AIC = 15625.96		

Note. N = 607 Turkish or Moroccan-origin minority students in 45 schools. w2 = measured at wave 2, w3 = measured at wave 3. †$p < .10$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$

Discrimination as Outcome – Belgian Majority Students

Table F4

Results of Multilevel Mediation Analyses with Discrimination as Outcome Variables – Belgian Majority Students

	Student perceptions of respectful treatment as mediator			**Student perceptions of teachers intervening with discrimination as mediator**		
	Student perceptions of respectful treatment (w2)	Discrimination experiences (w3)	Discrimination perceptions (w3)	Student perceptions of teachers intervening w. discrimination (w2)	Discrimination experiences (w3)	Discrimination perceptions (w3)
	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)
Individual level						
Control variables						
Age (w2)	-0.11** (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.06 (0.05)	0.02 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)
Gender (0=*male*, 1=*female*) (w2)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	-0.06† (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)
Parental education (w2)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.08** (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.07* (0.04)
Predictors						
Student perceptions of respectful treatment (w2)	-	-0.13*(0.04)	-0.14** (0.04)	-	-	-
Student perceptions of teachers intervening with discrimination (w2)	-	-	-	-	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.06 (0.4)
R^2 individual level	.01 (0.01)	.02† (0.01)	.03* (0.01)	.01 (0.01)	.01 (0.01)	.01 (0.01)
School level						
Intercept	24.81*** (6.02)	-5.06 (5.69)	20.25* (8.21)	16.58* (6.63)	7.47 (4.77)	17.16** (5.86)
Predictors						
Ethnic composition (1 = >60% students speaking foreign language at home) (w2)	-0.10 (0.21)	-5.01* (2.03)	7.57** (2.22)	-0.32* (0.18)	-5.22* (2.03)	6.62** (2.09)
Teacher assimilationism (w2)	-0.10 (0.19)	0.17 (0.24)	0.27 (0.18)	0.29 (0.19)	0.15 (0.20)	0.47* (0.22)
Teacher multiculturalism (w2)	0.26 (0.21)	-0.21 (0.18)	-0.04 (0.17)	0.40* (0.19)	-0.05 (0.21)	0.06 (0.20)
Teacher intervening with discrimination (w2)	0.33 (0.26)	0.02 (0.17)	0.35* (0.17)	-0.21† (0.12)	0.09 (0.15)	0.04 (0.12)
Student perceptions of respectful treatment (w2)	-	0.37 (0.25)	-0.53* (0.24)	-	-	-
Student perceptions of teachers intervening with discrimination (w2)	-	-	-	-	-0.18 (0.25)	-0.60** (0.23)
Interactions						
Ethnic composition * teacher assimilation	-	5.24* (2.09)	-7.25** (2.27)	-	5.37** (2.06)	-6.44** (2.14)
R^2 school level	.26 (0.20)	.50† (0.26)	.89*** (0.12)	.27 (0.18)	.41 (0.26)	.85*** (0.21)
Model fit	χ^2/df=6.08/6=1.01, p=0.41, RMSEA = .00, CFI = 1.00 , $SRMR_{within}$= .00, $SRMR_{between}$=.06, AIC = 6957.39			χ^2/df=8.436=1.41, p=0.21, RMSEA = .02, CFI = 0.99, $SRMR_{within}$= .00, $SRMR_{between}$=.06, AIC = 7060.68		

Note. N = 1287 Belgian majority students in 62 schools. w2 = measured at wave 2, w3 = measured at wave 3. $^{\dagger}p < .10$. $^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$

Robustness checks were run excluding ethnic composition and the control variables. When these variables were excluded, the positive association between multiculturalism and respectful treatment became significant. Moreover, the positive association between teacher-reported assimilation and perceptions of teachers intervening with discrimination, as well as the negative association between teacher-reported intervening with discrimination and student perceptions of teachers intervening with discrimination were now significant.

Discrimination as Outcome – Turkish- or Moroccan-Origin Minority Students

Table F5

Results of Multilevel Mediation Analyses with Discrimination as Outcome Variables – Turkish- or Moroccan-Origin Minority Students

	Student perceptions of respectful treatment as mediator			**Student perceptions of teachers intervening with discrimination as mediator**		
	Student perceptions of respectful treatment (w2)	Discrimination experiences (w3)	Discrimination perceptions (w3)	Student perceptions of teachers intervening w. discrimination (w2)	Discrimination experiences (w3)	Discrimination perceptions (w3)
	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)	β (*SE*)
Individual level						
Control variables						
Age (w2)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.06† (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.074)	-0.04 (0.08)	0.01 (0.04)
Gender (0=*male*, 1=*female*) (w2)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.16** (0.05)	-0.11* (0.05)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.15** (0.06)	-0.11* (0.05)
Parental education (w2)	0.06 (0.04)	0.13** (0.05)	0.01 (0.04)	0.02 (0.05)	0.13** (0.05)	-0.01 (0.04)
Predictors						
Student perceptions of respectful treatment (w2)	-	-0.17** (0.05)	-0.15*** (0.03)	-	-	-
Student perceptions of teachers intervening with discrimination (w2)	-	-	-	-	-0.11* (0.04)	-0.06 (0.04)
R^2 individual level	.01 (0.01)	.07** (0.03)	.03** (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	.05* (0.03)	.01 (0.01)
School level						
Intercept	0.27 (4.20)	13.37 (14.55)	9.98 (6.95)	9.14 (7.00)	19.37 (55.92)	14.55* (5.62)
Predictors						
Ethnic composition (1 = >60% students speaking foreign language at home) (w2)	0.31 (0.27)	0.03 (0.36)	-0.03 (0.34)	0.12 (0.26)	-0.13 (0.94)	-0.37 (0.79)
Teacher assimilationism (w2)	0.25 (0.23)	0.26 (0.37)	0.04 (0.28)	0.26 (0.35)	0.26 (1.71)	-0.11 (0.96)
Teacher multiculturalism (w2)	0.65† (0.37)	1.05† (0.57)	0.93 (0.57)	-0.05 (0.31)	0.44 (0.91)	0.40 (1.23)
Teacher intervening with discrimination (w2)	0.26 (0.36)	0.24 (0.50)	0.50 (0.34)	0.01 (0.29)	-0.09 (0.58)	0.07 (0.85)
Student perceptions of respectful treatment (w2)	-	-1.07 (0.71)	-1.35* (0.46)	-	-	-
Student perceptions of teachers intervening with discrimination (w2)	-	-	-	-	-0.84 (3.87)	-0.69 (0.81)
R^2 school level	.64* (0.25)	.63 (0.53)	.97*** (0.23)	0.09 (0.259)	0.90 (7.22)	0.99*** (0.21)
Model fit	χ^2/df=27.76/6=4.63, p<.001, RMSEA = .07, CFI = 0.95 , $SRMR_{within}$= .02, $SRMR_{between}$=.11, AIC = 9153.97			χ^2/df=18.53/6=3.09, p=0.01, RMSEA = .06, CFI = 0.97, $SRMR_{within}$= .02, $SRMR_{between}$=.11, AIC = 9201.36		

Note. N = 696 Turkish- or Moroccan-origin minority students in 52 schools. w2 = measured at wave 2, w3 = measured at wave 3. $^{\dagger}p < .10$. $^{*}p < .05$. $^{**}p < .01$. $^{***}p < .001$

Robustness checks were run excluding ethnic composition and the control variables. When these variables were excluded, the positive association between multiculturalism and respectful treatment, and the negative association between respectful treatment and perceived discrimination were now significant.