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RESEARCH ARTICLE OPEN ACCESS

Warmth and Competence Predict Immigrant Pupils' Social Integration

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Correspondence: Benjamin A. Korman (benjamin.korman@lifbi.de)**Received:** 9 September 2024 | **Revised:** 24 March 2025 | **Accepted:** 16 May 2025**Funding:** This work was supported by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) under grants IN1503A, IN1503B, IN1503C, and IN1503D to the Leibniz Institute for Educational Trajectories (LifBi) in cooperation with a nationwide network.**Keywords:** immigrants | pupils | social integration | stereotype content model

ABSTRACT

The number of children living outside their country of birth has been rising for decades. This trend begs the question as to which immigrant children are likely to struggle with social integration within their host country. According to the stereotype content model, the social integration of immigrants is largely dependent on their perceived warmth and competence. Although broad support for this theoretical framework has been found in adult samples, it has not been applied to the social integration of immigrant children. In this study, I hypothesize that immigrant children low in warmth (as indicated by their self-reported prosocial behavior, perspective taking, and conversely, their self-reported impulsivity) and competence (as indicated by whether they receive additional, individualized teacher support in the classroom) report lower perceptions of social integration relative to native children generally, as well as immigrant children high in self-reported warmth, competence, or both. Using a sample of seventh graders in inclusive schools located in Germany, I highlight the importance of warmth and competence in the school context. These findings offer teachers, counselors, and other school personnel a deeper understanding of the unique challenges facing the social integration of specific subgroups of immigrant pupils at school.

International migration has been increasing for decades and, in 2020, 36 of the 281 million international migrants were children (United Nations 2020). Like many other Western countries, Germany—the national context of this study—is as a result becoming increasingly multicultural (Deutsche Welle 2023). The successful social integration of immigrant children is vital as it is linked to their mental health (Li and Jiang 2018; Oppedal et al. 2004; Potochnick et al. 2012) as well as important educational outcomes such as academic engagement and performance (Oxman-Martinez et al. 2012; Raabe 2019; Suárez-Orozco et al. 2009; Wölfer et al. 2019). Given that the school context is a predominant setting for immigrant children's social integration (Vedder and Horenczyk 2006), the study of their social integration in the classroom is both valuable and timely.

The study of immigrant children's social integration is also of high practical relevance as it has the potential to indicate which immigrant children are most likely to require unique social support from school staff, specifically school counselors. This insight is valuable considering that recent qualitative research on school counselors' experiences with immigrant students reported that these school staff, though looked towards as builders of “cross-cultural bridges” (Goh et al. 2007), often lack necessary information on how to best address immigrant students' unique needs (Dogan and Dollarhide 2023). This may explain, in part, unfortunate reports of immigrant students' negative experiences with school counselors (e.g., Luti et al. 2009). Confronting these issues, I highlight below a theoretical framework with practical value for assisting school staff identify and address the needs of their immigrant student

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Summary

- Immigrant pupils' perceptions of their social integration at school depend on their warmth (sociability) and competence (capability).
- In contrast to native pupils, as well as immigrant pupils high in warmth, competence, or both, immigrant pupils low in both warmth and competence report lower social integration in the classroom.
- Additional, individualized, in-class teacher support may guide the social integration of immigrant pupils.

population which has, in large part, been overlooked in the literature on school psychology.

1 | The Warmth-Competence Framework

The social integration of immigrants depends on how they are received by members of their host society. According to the Stereotype Content Model (SCM; Fiske et al. 2002) and the associated Behaviors of Intergroup Affect and Stereotypes (BIAS) map (Cuddy et al. 2007), how immigrants are viewed and treated in their host society depends predominantly on their perceived warmth and competence. Warmth (sociability) refers to one's individual or collective intent towards others while competence (capability) refers to one's ability to enact that intent (Fiske 2018). Relative to natives, immigrants can be ascribed lower warmth, competence, or both (Froehlich and Schulte 2019; Kotzur et al. 2019), though most immigrants receive ambivalent (i.e., low-high or high-low) warmth and competence stereotypes (Lee and Fiske 2006). Immigrants' warmth and competence characteristics are important considering Lee and Fiske's findings that, "regardless of competence, warm people are actively facilitated while not-warm people are actively harmed, and regardless of warmth, competent people are passively facilitated while incompetent people are passively harmed" (p. 755).¹ These findings are not unique to the United States, where the authors collected their data, and empirical support for their findings also comes from recent work conducted in Germany (Froehlich and Schulte 2019).

Immigrant children low in both warmth and competence are most likely to report lower perceptions of social integration considering that they are likely to evoke contempt in others (Cuddy et al. 2007; Fiske 2018). Experimental evidence supports this by demonstrating that perceptions of low warmth and competence elicit feelings of contempt in perceivers which, in turn, predicts the extent to which perceivers consider the social exclusion of low warmth and competence individuals as moral (Rudert et al. 2017).

2 | The Present Study

I focus on pupils' prosocial behavior, perspective taking, and conversely, impulsivity as representative characteristics of warmth considering that each of these characteristics shapes one's social behavior and, thereby, social relationships. Prosocial

behavior (i.e., helping others) increases peer acceptance (Layous et al. 2012), reduces loneliness (Lanser and Eisenberger 2023), and is positively associated with social functioning more generally (Eisenberg et al. 1996). Similarly, perspective taking (i.e., inferring another's feelings or concerns) is positively related to prosocial behavior (Bengtsson and Johnson 1992) and perceived sociability by others (LeMare and Rubin 1987), as well as negatively related to aggression (Fitzgerald and White 2003), a characteristic of not-warm individuals (Cuddy et al. 2008). Regarding impulsivity (i.e., a predisposition to rapid and unplanned reactions to stimuli; Chamberlain and Sahakian 2007), individuals with higher impulsivity have been found to lie more frequently to others (including friends; Dykstra et al. 2023), demonstrate greater antisocial behavior (Álvarez-García et al. 2019; Maneiro et al. 2017), and report greater feelings of loneliness (Savci 2016). Thus, I contend that immigrant children who self-report lower prosocial behavior and perspective taking, but higher impulsivity, are perceived by their peers as lower in warmth.

However, as already mentioned, immigrants' (self-rated) warmth *in combination with* their competence are expected to predict their treatment by others and, thus, perceptions of social integration. Therefore, I also take into consideration how immigrant pupils' competence may be inferred by their classmates. Specifically, I account for whether immigrant pupils receive additional, individualized teacher support in the classroom (i.e., secondary educational instruction), such as for their language development, reading skills, and/or other scholastic needs. I operationalize pupils' competence in this manner because the receipt of additional, individualized teacher support in the classroom can be both salient and recurrent (cf. Vehkakoski 2012) and, unlike test scores or school grades, this operationalization is not dependent on the extent to which pupils actively share competence-related information, information which may only be made public by the highest achieving pupils (Monteil and Michinov 2000). Furthermore, in inclusive schools (the educational context of the current study), pupils with and without special needs are placed together in the same classroom (Kauffman 2020), often making their grades—which may be based on the unique abilities of the individual—not directly comparable with those of their classmates (Hauschild 2014).

Although empirical work has provided support for SCM's warmth-competence framework in adult immigrant populations across national contexts (Fiske et al. 2002; Froehlich and Schulte 2019; Kotzur et al. 2019; Lee and Fiske 2006), as well as insight on how teachers perceive their students in terms of warmth and competence (Bonefeld and Karst 2020; Krischler et al. 2018; Pit-ten Cate and Krischler 2020; Raisa and Alieva 2018), it has, to the best of my knowledge, not yet been applied to the social context of peers at school more generally, nor immigrant children more specifically. The aim of this study is to do both. By testing SCM's warmth-competence framework in the social context of peers at school, I examine its utility in a unique social context in which immigrant children engage with similar-age host society members.

This is important considering that this warmth-competence framework has the potential to contribute to the literature on

school psychology by adding nuance to already-established theories predicting pupils' social integration at school. For example, whereas the social skills deficit model (Asher et al. 1982) theorizes that pupils with low sociability will experience reduced social integration (for a meta-analysis, see Newcomb et al. 1993), SCM highlights immigrant status as an important contextual factor highlighting for whom low sociability will be especially costly. Furthermore, considering that social referencing theory (Feinman 1992) theorizes that teacher interaction with individual pupils affects these pupils' social acceptance by their peers, SCM's warmth-competence framework elucidates why otherwise positive interactions (e.g., additional, individualized teacher support) may not predict greater social outcomes.

Finally, by focusing on individuals' characteristics of warmth and competence, I respond to Vietze et al. (2023) recent call to explore the heterogeneous and subjective school experiences of immigrant pupils using meaningful and feasible social categories. Thus, I aim with this study to offer a better understanding of which subgroups of immigrant children perceive themselves as more, or less, socially integrated in their classroom. This is highly consequential given the important impact that social integration can have on children's mental health and educational outcomes (Li and Jiang 2018; Oppedal et al. 2004; Oxman-Martinez et al. 2012; Potochnick et al. 2012; Raabe 2019; SuÁrez-Orozco et al. 2009; Wölfer et al. 2019). The findings of this study also provide information for teachers and other educational staff to identify children and young people who are particularly at risk of being socially excluded. This is where targeted interventions to improve social integration can come in.

In sum, and based on prior work in the literature on immigrants as a demographic group and SCM's warmth-competence framework, I hypothesize that immigrant pupils who self-report being lower in both warmth and competence will report lower perceptions of social integration than native pupils generally, as well as immigrant pupils who self-report having higher competence, warmth, or both. In other words, I propose a 3-way interaction model in which warmth and competence

simultaneously moderate the relationship between pupils' immigrant status and perceived social integration (see Figure 1 for my theoretical model).

3 | Methods

3.1 | Sample

The survey data stem from the nationwide INSIDE ("Inclusion in lower secondary tier in Germany") project (<https://www.inside-studie.de/>; Gresch and Nusser 2023; Külker and Gresch 2024). Participants in the current study were seventh graders at inclusive schools—that is, schools where pupils with and without special educational needs are taught together (Göransson and Nilholm 2014)—who were recruited in the fall of 2020.² Participation was optional and informed consent was obtained from all participants, participants' parents, and schools before data collection.

Although 1575 pupils nested within 341 classrooms completed the (self-reported) measure of the dependent variable, missing data (on the independent variables and covariates) limited the sample to 1127 pupils nested within 314 classrooms. Of these 1127 pupils, 592 (i.e., 52.5%) were female and the average age was 13.6 years (SD = 0.2). Importantly, data collection occurred in 15 of Germany's 16 federal states, though representation across federal states was not evenly distributed, precluding population-based estimates.

3.2 | Measures

3.2.1 | Immigrant Status

Pupils' immigrant status was coded with 0 representing native status (i.e., born in Germany) and 1 representing immigrant status (i.e., born outside of Germany). Foreign birth was used to operationalize immigrant status because it is considered the most commonly used definition in the literature on immigrants (Gimeno-Feliu et al. 2019).³ Furthermore, previous research has suggested that

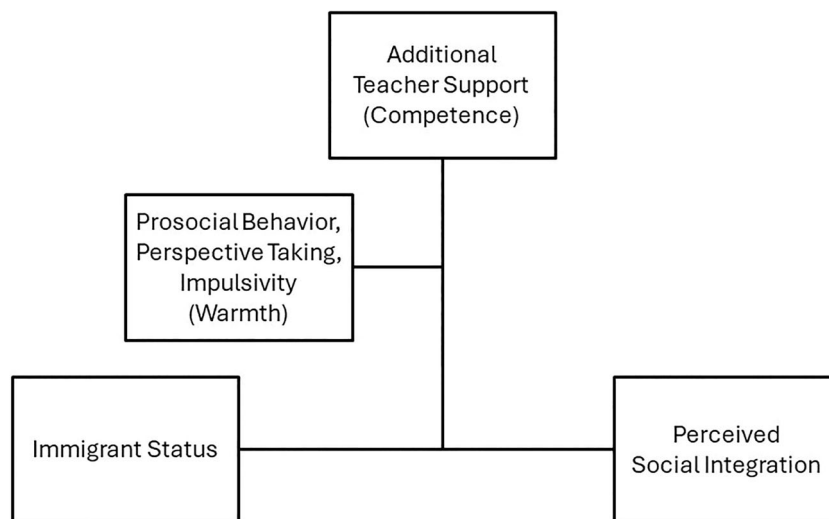


FIGURE 1 | Theoretical model.

immigrant children experience lower peer acceptance relative to native peers, whereas the descendants of immigrants do not (Guerra et al. 2019). One hundred and thirty-seven of the final 1127 pupils (i.e., 12.2%) in the sample had immigrant status and the most represented foreign nationalities in the final sample were Russian (8.0%), Syrian (1.6%), Polish (0.8%), and Turkish (0.8%). Furthermore, of those with immigrant status, 71.6% moved to Germany as a baby, 9.6% as a small child (between 1 and 5 years old), 11.7% as a school child (6 or older), and 7.1% very recently.

3.2.2 | Prosocial Behavior

Pupils' self-reported prosocial behavior was measured using the 4-item Prosocial Behavior Subscale of the Strengths and Difficulties Scale by Goodman (1997) which included the following 4 items: (1) I am nice to other people, (2) I often share with others (treats, toys, pencils, etc.), (3) I am helpful if someone is hurt, upset, or feeling ill, and (4) I often volunteer to help others (parents, teachers, other children). Responses were given using a 4-point Likert scale (1 = "strongly disagree," 4 = "strongly agree").

3.2.3 | Perspective Taking

Pupils' self-reported perspective taking was measured using an adapted measure of the 4-item Perspective Taking Scale by Rindermann (2009). The adapted measure included the following 3 items: (1) I can recognize the feelings of others well, (2) I can empathize well with others, and (3) I can understand the feelings and behaviors of others well. Responses were given using a 4-point Likert scale (1 = "strongly disagree," 4 = "strongly agree").

3.2.4 | Impulsivity

Pupils' self-reported impulsivity was measured using an adapted version of the 4-item Impulsivity Scale by Stadler et al. (2004). The adapted measure included the following 3 items: (1) I often do and say something without thinking about it beforehand, (2) I often get in trouble because I do something without thinking it through, and (3) I often get into trouble because I can't control myself enough. Responses were given using a 4-point Likert scale (1 = "strongly disagree," 4 = "strongly agree").

3.2.5 | Additional Teacher Support

Additional teacher support was an omnibus measure of whether pupils received unique and individualized support in the classroom (e.g., for language development, reading skills, or some other unique scholastic need of the student) during regular class hours. It was coded with 0 for those who did not receive such support, and 1 for those who did. One hundred and eighty-five of the final 1127 pupils (i.e., 16.4%) received at least one form of additional teacher support. Of these 185 pupils, 24 (i.e., 17.5%) had immigrant status. Additional teacher support was not significantly related to students' immigrant status (see Table 1).

3.2.6 | Perceived Social Integration

Pupils' perceived social integration was measured using an adapted version of the 5-item Pupils' Social Self-Perception Subscale originally developed in Dutch by Koster et al. (2009). Pupils' social self-perception was used to operationalize perceived social integration because it "in essence aims at the feelings of the pupil, like feelings of belonging to the group and

TABLE 1 | Means, standard deviations, Cronbach's α 's, and zero-order correlations among variables.

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
(1) Immigrant status	0.12	0.01	—										
(2) Additional teacher support	0.16	0.01	0.011	—									
(3) Prosocial behavior	3.24	0.02	0.044	0.002	(0.73)								
(4) Perspective taking	3.01	0.02	0.032	-0.044	0.458	(0.83)							
(5) Impulsivity	2.06	0.02	0.083	0.079	-0.208	-0.047	(0.81)						
(6) Perceived social integration	3.31	0.02	0.001	-0.051	0.295	0.185	-0.134	(0.71)					
(7) Gender (0 = male, 1 = female)	0.53	0.01	-0.032	-0.111	0.142	0.176	-0.115	-0.078	—				
(8) Age	13.59	0.02	0.035	0.204	0.032	0.017	0.017	-0.074	-0.042	—			
(9) German mother tongue	0.91	0.01	-0.308	-0.021	-0.068	-0.001	-0.070	-0.057	-0.014	-0.055	—		
(10) Number of forms of additional teacher support	0.18	0.01	0.008	0.948	-0.016	-0.049	0.077	-0.047	-0.104	0.207	-0.020	—	
(11) School attendance	1.81	0.02	0.069	0.005	0.013	0.016	0.008	-0.030	0.057	-0.001	-0.032	0.014	—

Note: Correlations ≥ 0.065 or ≤ -0.065 are significant at the 0.05 level (two-tailed test). Cronbach's α 's are presented in parentheses along the diagonal.

TABLE 2 | Regression results for prosocial behavior moderation model.

Variables	Model 1			Model 2		
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>p</i> value	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>p</i> value
Additional teacher support	−0.064	0.056	0.254	−0.211	0.166	0.202
Immigrant status	0.022	0.064	0.726	−0.004	0.065	0.951
Additional teacher support × immigrant status	−0.353	0.160	0.028	−0.387	0.159	0.015
Prosocial behavior (<i>z</i> -score)	0.185	0.023	< 0.001	0.202	0.023	< 0.001
Additional teacher support × prosocial behavior(<i>z</i> -score)	0.037	0.054	0.492	0.032	0.054	0.548
Immigrant status × prosocial behavior (<i>z</i> -score)	−0.007	0.064	0.908	−0.018	0.063	0.771
Immigrant status × additional teacher support × prosocial behavior (<i>z</i> -score)	0.344	0.154	0.025	0.325	0.152	0.032
Gender				−0.174	0.038	< 0.001
Age				−0.081	0.030	0.007
German mother tongue				−0.122	0.069	0.076
Number of forms of additional teacher support				0.139	0.142	0.327
School attendance				−0.035	0.037	0.356
Intercept	3.317	0.024	< 0.001	4.686	0.420	< 0.001

Note: Model 1 is the simple model without covariates. Model 2 is the full model with covariates. $N = 1119$ pupils in 314 classrooms. The breakdown of pupils across groups is provided below: $n_{\text{native status, no additional teacher support}} = 824$. $n_{\text{immigrant status, no additional teacher support}} = 113$. $n_{\text{native status, additional teacher support}} = 160$. $n_{\text{immigrant status, additional teacher support}} = 22$.

feelings of loneliness” (Koster et al. 2009, 214). The adapted measure included the following 3 items: (1) I feel part of the class, (2) In my class I can be myself, and (3) I get teased more than others in my class [reverse-scored item]. Responses were given using a 4-point Likert scale (1 = “strongly disagree,” 4 = “strongly agree”).

3.2.7 | Covariates

First, I controlled for gender (0 = male, 1 = female) as girls have been found to report a greater sense of belonging, and hence social integration, at school relative to boys (Ma 2003; Makarova and Herzog 2011). Second, I controlled for age because it predicts pupils’ likelihood of being bullied by their peers (Ballatore et al. 2020). Third, I controlled for whether pupils were native German speakers (0 = not a native German speaker, 1 = a native German speaker) to ensure that their perception of social integration was not conflated with misunderstandings in communication between them and their peers (Terui 2012). Of the final 1127 pupils, 106 (i.e., 9.4%) did not report German as their mother tongue. Fourth, although most pupils receiving additional classroom support only received one form of support (168 of 185; i.e., 90.1%), I controlled for the number of various forms of classroom support each pupil received to ensure that the results were not skewed by the very few children receiving multiple forms of classroom support (15 pupils received 2 forms, and 2 pupils received 3 forms, of additional teacher support).⁴ Finally, considering the time period during which data collection occurred (the COVID-19 pandemic), I accounted for the frequency with which pupils physically attended school (0 = never [5.9%], 1 = sometimes [6.5%], or 2 = every day [87.6%]).

Aside from additional teacher support, which was provided by participating pupils’ school, all study data was self-reported by

participating pupils. Measures that were shortened from their original version (i.e., perspective taking, impulsivity, and perceived social integration) were used so as to limit the strain placed on participants given the longitudinal design of the INSIDE study. The means, standard deviations, Cronbach’s α ’s, and zero-order correlations among variables are presented in Table 1.

3.3 | Analytical Strategy

In an initial step, I examined whether pupils’ social self-perception differed significantly within classes, schools, and school types.⁵ Intraclass correlations show that significant variance (> 5%) in pupils’ perceived social integration can be attributed to within-class variation, $ICC(1)_{\text{class}} = 0.064$, 95% CI: [0.033, 0.121], but not to within-school or within-school type variation, $ICC(1)_{\text{school}} = 0.014$, 95% CI: [0.02, 0.085]; $ICC(1)_{\text{school type}} = 0.005$, 95% CI: [0.000, 0.266]. Furthermore, likelihood-ratio tests demonstrated that a two-level model offered superior fit to the data relative to either a 3-level model, $\chi^2(1) = 1.38$, $p = 0.24$, or a 4-level model, $\chi^2(1) = 1.71$, $p = 0.43$. As a multi-level analytical approach is needed (Snijders and Bosker 2011), I used Stata/SE 17.0 software (Stata Statistical Software: Release 17 2021) to analyze the data with a two-level random-intercept linear regression model where pupils were clustered within classrooms (Snijders and Bosker 2011).

4 | Results

I estimated three separate 3-way moderation models to test my hypothesis. Each moderation model included immigrant status, additional teacher support, and a characteristic representative of warmth (i.e., prosocial behavior, perspective taking, or conversely, impulsivity) as predictors of pupils’ perceived social

integration. Measures of warmth were standardized (i.e., z-scores were used) to allow for easier interpretation of the effect sizes at ± 1 standard deviation around the mean. The sample sizes used to test each model differ marginally (N ranging from 1115 to 1124 across models) because of missing data for the various moderators and my use of listwise deletion when running the analyses.

Pupils' perceived social integration was significantly predicted by three separate three-way interactions comprised of their immigrant status, receipt of additional teacher support, and a characteristic representative of their warmth, including prosocial behavior, $b = 0.325$, $SE = 0.152$, $p = 0.032$ (see Table 2), perspective taking, $b = 0.336$, $SE = 0.146$, $p = 0.022$ (see Table 3), and conversely, impulsivity, $b = -0.404$, $SE = 0.158$, $p = 0.011$ (see Table 4).

Follow-up simple slope analyses suggest that characteristics of warmth are especially important predictors of pupils' social integration when they have immigrant status and receive additional teacher support. This was the case for all three characteristics of warmth investigated, that is, prosocial behavior, $b = 0.541$, $SE = 0.130$, $p < 0.001$ (see Table 5), perspective taking, $b = 0.361$, $SE = 0.121$, $p = 0.003$ (see Table 6), and impulsivity, $b = -0.329$, $SE = 0.138$, $p = 0.017$ (see Table 7).⁶

This is also visible in the relatively steep simple slopes for this demographic group across -1 and $+1$ standard deviations of prosocial behavior (Figure 2), perspective taking (Figure 3), and impulsivity (Figure 4). These findings imply that pupils with immigrant status who receive additional teacher support may face social consequences for having lower warmth, or may be required to have higher warmth to experience social integration

equal to that of their native peers or fellow immigrant peers who are low only in competence, warmth, or neither.

5 | Discussion

In a sample of 1127 seventh graders attending inclusive schools in Germany, I find that immigrant pupils with low warmth (i.e., low prosocial behavior, low perspective taking, or high impulsivity) and low competence (i.e., the receipt of additional, individually tailored, teacher support in the classroom) report lower perceptions of social integration relative to immigrant pupils low in either warmth or competence (but not both) and native pupils (regardless of their warmth and competence). These findings are in line with SCM's warmth-competence framework and demonstrate the importance of pupils' warmth and competence for social outcomes in the school context.

Similar to other work highlighting the importance of individualized educational support for immigrant children, this study links teacher support in the classroom to their social integration. In contrast, however, the current study touches on the potential double-edged sword that teacher support can offer these children. Although expected to boost immigrant children's scholastic outcomes, unique treatment (in the form of additional teacher support) has the potential to negatively label those receiving it (Damico et al. 2010) and, thus, negatively affect their social outcomes. This finding adds nuance to the already complex link between pupils' scholastic and social outcomes (e.g., Fletcher et al. 2020; Gremmen et al. 2017) and highlights the importance of school psychologists' role in developing and implementing school-wide practices to promote learning, a domain of major importance as considered by the National Association of School Psychologists.

TABLE 3 | Regression results for perspective taking moderation model.

Variables	Model 1			Model 2		
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>p</i> value	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>p</i> value
Additional teacher support	-0.063	0.058	0.281	-0.129	0.168	0.442
Immigrant status	0.027	0.066	0.686	-0.011	0.068	0.866
Additional teacher support \times immigrant status	-0.130	0.166	0.434	-0.184	0.166	0.267
Perspective taking (z-score)	0.130	0.023	< 0.001	0.148	0.023	< 0.001
Additional teacher support \times perspective taking (z-score)	-0.052	0.055	0.350	-0.060	0.055	0.274
Immigrant status \times perspective taking (z-score)	-0.057	0.066	0.390	-0.062	0.065	0.340
Immigrant status \times additional teacher support \times perspective taking (z-score)	0.345	0.147	0.019	0.336	0.146	0.022
Gender				-0.163	0.040	< 0.001
Age				-0.074	0.031	0.017
German mother tongue				-0.173	0.071	0.015
Number of forms of additional teacher support				0.067	0.142	0.637
School attendance				-0.036	0.039	0.362
Intercept	3.311	0.025	< 0.001	4.632	0.436	< 0.001

Note: Model 1 is the simple model without covariates. Model 2 is the full model with covariates. $N = 1115$ pupils in 313 classrooms. The breakdown of pupils across groups is provided below: $n_{\text{native status, no additional teacher support}} = 821$. $n_{\text{immigrant status, no additional teacher support}} = 113$. $n_{\text{native status, additional teacher support}} = 159$. $n_{\text{immigrant status, additional teacher support}} = 22$.

TABLE 4 | Regression results for impulsivity moderation model.

Variables	Model 1			Model 2		
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>p</i> value	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>p</i> value
Additional teacher support	−0.056	0.058	0.337	−0.085	0.168	0.614
Immigrant status	0.046	0.067	0.495	0.008	0.068	0.912
Additional teacher support × immigrant status	−0.068	0.170	0.691	−0.144	0.171	0.400
Impulsivity (<i>z</i> -score)	−0.101	0.024	< 0.001	−0.115	0.024	< 0.001
Additional teacher support × impulsivity (<i>z</i> -score)	0.078	0.054	0.149	0.083	0.054	0.125
Immigrant status × impulsivity (<i>z</i> -score)	0.088	0.061	0.146	0.107	0.060	0.075
Immigrant status × additional teacher support × impulsivity (<i>z</i> -score)	−0.415	0.159	0.009	−0.404	0.158	0.011
Gender				−0.126	0.040	0.001
Age				−0.076	0.031	0.015
German mother tongue				−0.189	0.071	0.008
Number of forms of additional teacher support				0.040	0.143	0.778
School attendance				−0.037	0.039	0.344
Intercept	3.306	0.025	< 0.001	4.644	0.436	< 0.001

Note: Model 1 is the simple model without covariates. Model 2 is the full model with covariates. $N = 1124$ pupils in 314 classrooms. The breakdown of pupils across groups is provided below: $n_{\text{native status, no additional teacher support}} = 826$. $n_{\text{immigrant status, no additional teacher support}} = 113$. $n_{\text{native status, additional teacher support}} = 161$. $n_{\text{immigrant status, additional teacher support}} = 24$.

TABLE 5 | Simple slopes for prosocial behavior moderation model.

	Model 1			Model 2		
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>p</i> value	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>p</i> value
Native status, no additional teacher support	0.185	0.023	< 0.001	0.202	0.023	< 0.001
Immigrant status, no additional teacher support	0.177	0.060	0.003	0.184	0.059	0.002
Native status, additional teacher support	0.222	0.049	< 0.001	0.235	0.049	< 0.001
Immigrant status, additional teacher support	0.559	0.130	< 0.001	0.542	0.130	< 0.001

Note: Model 1 is the simple model without covariates. Model 2 is the full model with covariates. $N = 1119$ pupils in 314 classrooms.

Furthermore, according to the theory of social referencing (Feinman 1992), pupils in the school context use teachers' behavior towards other children as a social reference for their own relationships with these other children. This manifests itself, for example, in public teacher feedback. Pupils who receive positive (public) feedback from their teacher have a higher chance of favorable social participation than pupils who receive unfavorable (public) teacher feedback. Teachers can therefore provide targeted support for the social integration of immigrant pupils by offering them public, appreciative, and supportive feedback.

Given the study's findings, school psychologists and counselors are recommended to consider the warmth-competence framework offered by SCM when also serving the needs of their immigrant students. Although each student is an individual, and each student's country of origin unique, this warmth-competence framework may help school psychologists and counselors better understand the types of social challenges certain immigrant groups are facing, as well what solutions may ease these challenges, by simplifying what might otherwise be for these school personnel overwhelming diversity (e.g., regarding the geographic location as well as predominant language and religion of an

immigrant child's country of origin). For example, Froehlich and Schulte (2019) found in a German sample that individuals from Albania (an Albanian-speaking country in Southeast Europe with high religious diversity) and Tunisia (an Arabic-speaking country in North Africa with low religious diversity) both tended to be viewed as low in both warmth and competence. Thus, instead of needing to understand the myriad differences between these countries, school psychologists and counselors can—with a better understanding of the importance of pupils' warmth and competence—gain quick and informative insight into how individuals from these countries are perceived and how this may affect their integration outcomes at school. Doing so can help school psychologists and counselors address influences related to student diversity, an important domain highlighted in the National Association of School Psychologists' 10 Domains of Practice (see Domain 8 in <https://www.nasponline.org/standards-and-certification/nasp-2020-professional-standards-adopted/nasp-2020-domains-of-practice>).

Moreover, given the self-report nature of the measures of warmth, the findings touch on the idea that self-stereotyping (Bell and Burkley 2014) may also be a topic that school psychologists and counselors consider worthy of discussing with

TABLE 6 | Simple slopes for perspective taking moderation model.

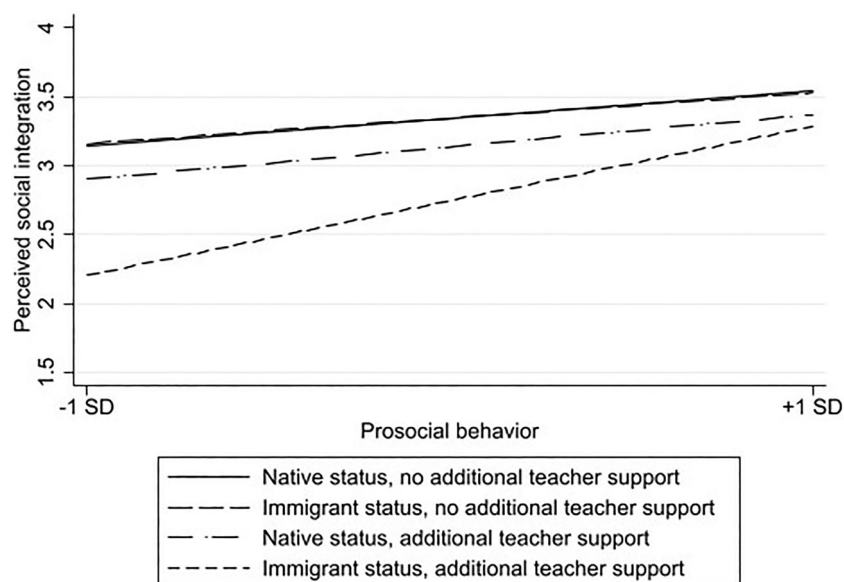
	Model 1			Model 2		
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>p</i> value	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>p</i> value
Native status, no additional teacher support	0.130	0.023	< 0.001	0.148	0.023	< 0.001
Immigrant status, no additional teacher support	0.073	0.062	0.233	0.086	0.061	0.158
Native status, additional teacher support	0.078	0.050	0.118	0.088	0.050	0.075
Immigrant status, additional teacher support	0.367	0.122	0.003	0.362	0.121	0.003

Note: Model 1 is the simple model without covariates. Model 2 is the full model with covariates. *N* = 1115 pupils in 313 classrooms.

TABLE 7 | Simple slopes for impulsivity moderation model.

	Model 1			Model 2		
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>p</i> value	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>p</i> value
Native status, no additional teacher support	-0.101	0.024	< 0.001	-0.115	0.024	< 0.001
Immigrant status, no additional teacher support	-0.013	0.056	0.816	-0.008	0.056	0.886
Native status, additional teacher support	-0.023	0.049	0.639	-0.032	0.049	0.504
Immigrant status, additional teacher support	-0.350	0.139	0.012	-0.329	0.138	0.017

Note: Model 1 is the simple model without covariates. Model 2 is the full model with covariates. *N* = 1124 pupils in 314 classrooms.

**FIGURE 2** | Prosocial behavior moderation model.

their immigrant students. This is because acculturation issues (e.g., social as well as health related) may not necessarily stem from how the immigrant pupil views themselves, or how others indeed view them, but instead how they perceive themselves to be viewed by others (cf. Dickerson et al. 2004).

By highlighting the subgroup(s) of immigrant children facing the greatest barrier to social integration, this study informs teachers, counselors, and other school personnel where extra consideration regarding the needs of immigrant children is required. The current findings suggest that, at the school level, screening for pupils' characteristics of warmth and competence may be a useful first step towards ensuring that all pupils are

adequately socially integrated in the classroom and minority groups are not left behind. This could be particularly useful information for teachers given that studies of teachers in various international contexts have found them to lack knowledge and training regarding how immigrant pupils may best be supported at school (Batanero et al. 2021; Vigren et al. 2022; Wang et al. 2022). The current findings are also useful for school counselors, considering that, based on their training and access to school-wide data (Shell 2021), they are well-positioned to serve as "cross-cultural bridges" that can help address the socioemotional needs of immigrant children undergoing the acculturation process (Goh et al. 2007). With these findings, I offer school counselors a deeper understanding of the factors

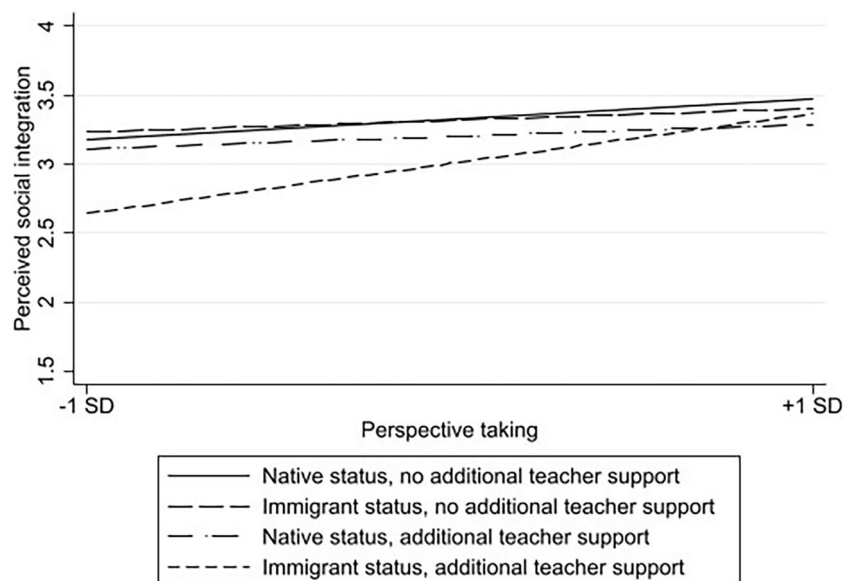


FIGURE 3 | Perspective taking moderation model.

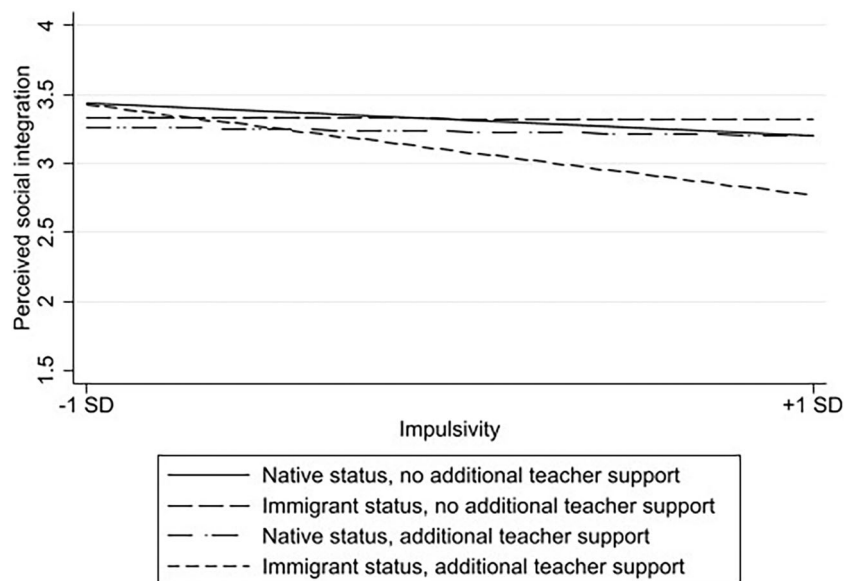


FIGURE 4 | Impulsivity moderation model.

associated with immigrant children's social integration at school. Most notably, this study suggests that individualized classroom instruction in the form of additional teacher support may relate to immigrant children's social experiences at school, offering teachers and school counselors an additional lever by which social interactions among peers (i.e., the social integration of immigrant children) may be guided.

6 | Limitations

First, the current study is limited by its small subsample of immigrant children receiving additional educational support in the classroom (n ranging from 22 to 24 across models). Recruitment and retention is a common issue when studying immigrants (Lopez-Class et al. 2016; Reichel and Morales 2017),

potentially accounting for why the majority of research on immigrant children with unique educational needs has been qualitative (Jørgensen et al. 2021). A second limitation is my dependence on self-report measures given that participants may overreport positive characteristics (e.g., prosocial behavior and perspective taking) but underreport negative characteristics (e.g., impulsivity). However, if socially desirable response bias was present, it would make my statistical tests more conservative by decreasing the likelihood that I find differences between pupils high (+1 SD) and low (−1 SD) on the studied moderators. Nonetheless, future research could address this limitation by averaging peers' perceptions of focal (immigrant) students' warmth and competence, though this would be a resource-intensive endeavor. Third, the current findings are limited in that only pupils from inclusive schools were recruited. However, this limitation likely also led to a conservative test of my

hypothesis because children receiving additional educational support in an inclusive environment have been previously found to report greater acceptance by peers and more satisfying school relationships than those receiving this support in a noninclusive environment (Bunch and Valeo 2004; Wiener and Tardif 2004). Thus, I would expect stronger effects on social integration in non-inclusive school environments. Given the United Nations sustainable development goal regarding inclusive education (United Nations Statistics Division n.d), future work should build on the current findings to explore how inclusive educational environments shape immigrant children's integration experiences.

7 | Conclusions

Using a sample of seventh graders in inclusive schools located in Germany, I find that immigrant pupils' perceptions of social integration in the classroom depends on characteristics representative of their warmth and competence. Specifically, and in contrast to native pupils, as well as immigrant pupils high in warmth, competence, or both, immigrant pupils low in both warmth and competence report lower social integration in the classroom. This study extends SCM's warmth-competence framework to the social context of peers at school and offers quantitative findings regarding the social experiences of immigrant children with unique educational needs, an increasingly important yet under researched topic of study.

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Conflicts of Interest

The author declares no conflicts of interest.

Data Availability Statement

The data used in this study will be openly available at <https://doi.org/10.5157/INSIDE:1.0.0>.

Endnotes

¹In this context, passive harm refers to being ignored or excluded while active harm refers to receiving verbal harassment (Cuddy et al. 2007).

²Although study data were collected during the COVID-19 pandemic (most) schools in Germany were open during the data collection.

³Although generational status (i.e., 1st-generation, 2nd-generation, 3rd generation) has also been used in the literature to operationalize pupils' immigrant background (for a recent review, see Metzner et al. 2022), I define 1st-generation immigrant pupils as having immigrant status as they alone have undergone the immigration process (Urquia and Gagnon 2011).

⁴Given that very few pupils received two or more forms of additional teacher support, I assumed that social effects of additional teacher support found in our sample would be due to pupils' (negative) categorization by their peers as one who receives additional teacher

support and not driven by the very few pupils receiving two or more forms of additional teacher support.

⁵For an overview of the various types of secondary school in Germany and how they differ from one another, see here: <https://www.make-it-in-germany.com/en/living-in-germany/family-life/school-system>

⁶To ensure the robustness of the results, I replicated all analyses in simple models without covariates. The results of these robustness checks are presented in Model 1 of Tables 2, 4, 5, and 7.

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