

EXPLORING THE IMPACT OF VALUES EDUCATION ON YOUTH'S ATTITUDES
TOWARDS AFRICAN MIGRANTS IN MALTA

by

Lauren Corboy
A Thesis
Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty
of
George Mason University
and the University of Malta
in Partial Fulfillment of
The Requirements for the Degree
of
Master of Science
Conflict Analysis and Resolution
Master of Arts
Conflict Resolution and Mediterranean Security

Committee:

_____ Chair of Committee

_____ Graduate Program Director

_____ Dean, School for Conflict
Analysis and Resolution

Date: _____ Spring Semester 2016
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA
University of Malta
Valletta, Malta

Exploring the Impact of Values Education on Youth's Attitudes towards
African Migrants in Malta

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of
Science at George Mason University, and the degree of Master of Arts at the University of
Malta

by

Lauren Corboy
Bachelor of Arts
Pacific Lutheran University, 2014

Director: Omar Grech, Coordinator of Human Dimension Programme at the
Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies, University of Malta

Spring Semester 2016
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA
University of Malta
Valletta, Malta



This work is licensed under a [creative commons attribution-noncommercial 3.0 unported license](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/).

Acknowledgments

I would like to begin by expressing my deepest appreciation for my academic supervisor, Dr. Omar Grech. His consistent guidance and thoughtful commentary helped to further develop this thesis and move it beyond a topic of interest into a compelling and significant body of work. Additionally, his celebratory spirit and optimistic attitude helped to relieve some of the stress associated with such an overwhelming endeavor. Without his guidance, this thesis would not be nearly as strong or interesting.

Secondly, I would like to extend a big ‘thank you’ to my program teaching coordinator, Athanasios Gatsias. Without his initial assistance in brainstorming, I would not have found the appropriate direction for this thesis. His assistance throughout the program and thesis-writing has increased my confidence as a scholar and a writer.

I would also like to express my appreciation for Professor Liberato Camilleri of the University of Malta. His initial Statistics and SPSS tutoring made it possible for me to use the complex system of statistical analysis for this thesis. Additionally, I want to acknowledge the generous assistance of Debby Kermer with George Mason University’s Library Data Services. Her Skype tutorial and constant email correspondence made the intimidating process of statistical analysis a breeze! Without her assistance, this thesis would have ended with an incoherent set of meaningless numbers.

Lastly, the thesis-writing process is more than an academic journey. It is an emotional rollercoaster filled with moments of debilitating stress and high points of celebratory success. My partner, Miro Mustonen, has exhibited an unprecedented level of patience and support without which I would not have mentally or emotionally survived the summer. My classmate, Nicole Eisenschenk, helped me to maintain my sanity throughout the summer and ensured that I didn’t become a full-on hermit. Finally, my father, Michael Corboy, provided much appreciated moments of celebration, relief and support, and pride as well as a much needed second eye for editing and proofreading.

Table of Contents

	Page
List of Tables	vi
List of Figures	vii
Abstract	viii
Introduction	1
Literature Review	13
Introduction.....	13
Values	15
Attitudes.....	20
<i>Defining Attitudes</i>	20
<i>The Formation of Attitudes</i>	22
<i>Functions of Attitudes</i>	26
Synthesizing Attitudes and Values	31
Values Education	33
<i>Approaches to Values Education</i>	38
<i>Is Values Education Necessary?</i>	43
<i>Values Education Successes</i>	46
<i>Critiques of Values Education</i>	48
<i>Can Values Education Improve Attitudes towards Immigrants?</i>	49
Concluding Remarks	51
Methodology	53
Study Design Foundation.....	53
Study Participants.....	55
Sampling Methods.....	58
Locating Participants.....	51
The Survey Instrument.....	60
Data Scoring and the Creation of New Variables.....	64
Statistical Analysis Tests.....	71
Limitations of the Research	77
Concluding Remarks	79
Data Findings	80
Response Frequencies.....	81

Investigating the Frequency of Values Education and Attitudes	85
Investigating Evaluations of Values Education and Attitudes	89
Investigating Values Education Locations	92
Investigating Values Education Levels	94
Investigating Values and Concepts	96
Investigating the Mitigating Factors	99
Comparing the Impact of Relevant Factors	103
Concluding Remarks	105
Data Discussion	109
Response Frequencies	111
Investigating the Frequency of Values Education and Attitudes	115
Investigating Evaluations of Values Education and Attitudes	117
Investigating Values Education Locations	119
Investigating Values Education Levels	122
Investigating Values and Concepts	126
Investigating the Mitigating Factors	120
Comparing the Impact of Relevant Factors	133
Concluding Remarks	138
Synthesis	140
Attitude Strength	143
Attitudes of Abstract versus Specific Impacts	148
Experience with Abstract and Concrete Values	158
Benefits of the Classroom Space for Values Education	162
Attitude Formation and Higher Education	168
Concluding Remarks	171
Conclusions	174
Implications	180
Suggestions for Future Research	182
Final Remark	183
Appendices	185
1: Shalom Schwartz Values Theory Spectrum	185
2: Survey Participation Recruitment Post	186
3: Central Limit Theorem Formula	187
4: English Survey Instrument	188
5: Maltese Survey Instrument	192
References	196
Biography	207

List of Tables

	Page
1. Means: VE Frequency & Attitude Average	86
2. Means: VE Evaluation & Attitude Average	91
3. Chi-Square Crosstab of VE Evaluation	91
4. Crosstab # of VE Locations and Attitudes	93
5. Rate of Contact with African Migrants and Attitudes	101
6. Contact Evaluation and Attitudes	102

List of Figures

	Page
1. Crosstab Comparing Rates of VE Experience with % of Positive and Negative Attitudes	89

Abstract

EXPLORING THE IMPACT OF VALUES EDUCATION ON YOUTH'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS AFRICAN MIGRANTS IN MALTA

Lauren Corboy, M.S., M.A.

George Mason University, 2016

Thesis Director: Dr. Omar Grech

Does Values Education have a positive impact on Maltese youths' attitudes towards African migrants? This study utilized a cross-sectional survey distributed to Maltese youth and quantitative statistical analysis to answer this question. Increasing anti-immigration sentiments throughout Europe have become even more present in Malta following the arrival of thousands of asylum-seekers from the African continent. Negative attitudes towards such migrants have become a source of prejudice and discrimination and an obstacle to the successful integration of African and Maltese communities. Participants' experience with Values Education is analyzed alongside their attitudes towards African migrants to demonstrate that Values Education is a significant driver of positive attitude formation. This study suggests that this educational approach, more so than a 'higher education' alone, is more strongly correlated to positive attitudes towards migrants. Most significantly, Values Education experiences within the

classroom which emphasize the application of positive, pro-social values through concepts such as discrimination and racism are most strongly correlated to positive attitudes. It is suggested that cognitive processes of attitude formation are aided by the tendency for such concepts to move learners beyond an abstract conception of values through an emphasis on the logic and rationale behind the application of certain values over others. This may increase the likelihood that such values will be internalized. It is shown that Values Education may act to mitigate the impact of other negative attitude drivers and improve public attitudes towards migrants. As such, Values Education could serve as a potential driver of the positive attitudes necessary for the relations between these two communities to improve thereby increasing the opportunities for their successful integration. To achieve this, educational policy-makers, community leaders, and families in Malta should take note of these implications and work to harmonize and consistently emphasize Values Education activities throughout all spaces within society.

Introduction

Today's globalized world has witnessed a dramatic increase in patterns of cross-continent migration. As these patterns of migration increase so do anti-immigrant sentiments. In the case of Malta, one of the smallest European Union member states, the dramatic rise in arrivals of asylum-seekers from the African continent over the past decade has been met with an increase in negative attitudes towards this group as local populations fear the potentially negative impacts to be made by such African migrants. Negative attitudes and the resulting patterns of discrimination have been a roadblock to the successful integration of these two communities.

While there are a number of various drivers of such attitudes, Values Education is suggested here to mitigate the negative impacts of these and increase the prevalence of more positive and tolerant attitudes towards African migrants. *Does Values Education have a positive impact on youths' attitudes towards African migrants?* This study shows that Values Education is a significant driver of positive attitudes instilling in youths the ability to think critically and meet the challenges of living in a modern pluralistic society.

The remainder of this introductory chapter will present the greater context of the problem in Malta and show how negative attitudes are an obstacle to integration. In considering the existing gap in the current academic literature, it is shown how this study will further the ongoing conversation regarding values, attitude formation, and the impacts of Values Education

on these. This chapter will conclude with a brief outline of the remaining chapters of this study and their content.

Over the past decade, the number of asylum-seekers arriving in Malta from the African continent has dramatically increased.¹ Because of its proximity to North Africa, a point of departure for many fleeing violence, persecution, or economic crises in their home countries, Malta has become a frequent, though unintentional, destination for African migrants rescued in Maltese waters.² As Malta is obligated to abide by the 2003 Dublin Convention which requires the first European Union member state in which an asylum-seeker arrives to process their asylum claims,³ Malta has experienced a disproportionately large responsibility in handling such claims.

With an area of roughly 316 square kilometers and a population of over 420,000, Malta is currently the smallest EU member state and also one of the most densely populated. This means the increasing number of irregular African migrants arriving is even more challenging for Malta than other European states. To put this into perspective, in 2013, Malta received more than 2,200 new asylum applications making it number one in Europe for refugees per capita.⁴ In comparison, that would be similar to an influx of 2.7 million asylum-seekers arriving in Great Britain.

Among the challenges associated with the high arrivals of such migrants has been the poor integration of those granted asylum into Maltese society. In the most recent survey carried out by the Migration Policy Group, in which integration policies of 38 European and non-

¹ UNHCR. (2014). *#knowthefacts: A toolkit on asylum and migration for Maltese MEP candidates*.

² Durick, H. E. (2011). African Irregular Migrants in Malta: Exploring Perceptions and Renegotiating the Socio-Cultural Siege of Malta. *OMERTAA Journal of Applied Anthropology*. 483-498: 483

³ Kok, L. (2006). The Dublin II Regulation. A UNHCR Discussion Paper. *UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)*.

⁴ UNHCR. (2014). *#knowthefacts: A toolkit on asylum and migration for Maltese MEP candidates*: 4

European countries were examined, Malta ranked poorly at 33rd in terms of opportunities for migrants to participate in society.⁵ The results indicated that migrants lacked opportunities for education, political participation, and naturalization. In Malta, non-EU citizens from both Africa and other non-European countries “are denied the equal rights and opportunities that they could use to improve their integration in many areas of life.”⁶ Those most affected by these restrictions are the most vulnerable groups such as those African migrants seeking asylum, often referred to as ‘irregular’ migrants since they arrive in Malta through unconventional means without the requisite travel documents.

Improvements to integration laws and policies in Malta could ensure fair and equal treatment for individuals in all areas of life. However, the topic of integration itself seems to be unclear for the general public. A recent survey carried out in Malta determined that when asked about the ‘integration of foreign communities’, 47.4% of Maltese respondents indicated they did not know what it meant.⁷ Without a clear understanding of what integration of African migrants would look like in Malta or how it would impact local lives, the concept of integration has yet to achieve full support. When provided a definition of integration as ‘a process of dialogue to help foreign communities participate and contribute to Maltese society,’ respondents were divided with nearly 41% of the Maltese population disagreeing that the government should generally support such integration policies.⁸ Further, in a survey carried out

⁵ Migrant Policy Group. (2014). Integration policies: Who benefits? The development and use of indicators in integration debates. *Migrant Integration Policy Index*.

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Debono, J. (2015). Perceptions about Third Country Nationals and Immigration in Malta. MediaToday Co. Ltd: 16

⁸ Ibid, 18

by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), 76% of respondents in Malta indicated they preferred to see immigration levels to decrease.⁹

Attitudes towards immigration in general may be reflective of more specific attitudes towards various immigrant groups. Dr. Frank Laczko of IOM expressed his concern that the lack of integration opportunities in countries such as Malta are being, “increasingly shaped by fears and misconceptions”¹⁰ of the migrants themselves or their potential impacts on local life. In Malta specifically, it has been argued that the public’s attitudes towards such migrants have become a critical barrier to effective integration.¹¹ For this reason, attitudes towards African migrants are a necessary phenomenon to investigate as these attitudes may be subtly, or directly, shaping the very integration policies which are preventing African migrants from securing their equal rights.

Previous surveys in Malta have sought to determine these attitudes and have shown the Maltese public to be fairly divided. Concerns about disease, African migrants increasing the competition for local jobs, and even declarations of an “invasion,”¹² have been demonstrated. In general, the majority of concerns have reflected fears that African migrants who remain in Malta will negatively impact economic and cultural life as well as the overall living space.¹³ However, European and other third-country migrants have not recently aroused similar fears. For example, one survey demonstrated that 90 percent of Maltese respondents were unwilling

⁹ Laczko, F. (2015). How the World Views Migration: IOM - Gallup World Poll. *International Organization for Migration*.

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Orland, K. S. (2015). Malta ranks poorly in Migrant Integration Policy Index: 33rd out of 38 countries. *Migrant Integration Policy Index*.

¹² Sacco, J. (2010). Not in My Country. *The Guardian*.

¹³ Durick, H. E. (2011): 486

to live next to an African migrant, though 95 percent did not object to living next to a European migrant.¹⁴

Such negative attitudes have been reflected in African migrants' perceived treatment in Maltese society. A joint study conducted by the Aditus Foundation and the UN's refugee agency (UNHCR) determined that the majority of African migrants live in isolation from the Maltese with only about one-third reporting they had a Maltese friend or acquaintance.¹⁵ Many stated they rarely engaged in Maltese social events with a number reporting, "that they opted not to attend local events due to negative experiences in terms of encountering racist or xenophobic attitudes."¹⁶ It was estimated in another report that "63% of Africans in Malta experience high levels of discrimination (amongst the highest levels in the EU, second only to Roma in the Czech Republic), and that 29% of African migrants in Malta fell victim to what they considered to be racially motivated crime."¹⁷ Following an alleged racially-motivated attack on a Hungarian student of Nigerian descent in the capital city of Valletta, roughly 200 African migrants from varying nationalities staged a protest in the city against their perceived experiences of racism and discrimination.¹⁸

However, Maltese attitudes towards migrants do not reflect discrimination as a whole. A number of Maltese have demonstrated more positive attitudes and awareness that racism is a growing concern for their community. In a survey of students at the University of Malta conducted by the university's Student Council (KSU), 61% said they would take no issue with living next to a migrant while 74% agreed that these migrants should be allowed to further

¹⁴ Calleya, S, & Lutterbeck, D. (2008). Managing the Challenges of Irregular Immigration in Malta. *Malta: The Today Public Policy Institute*: 6

¹⁵ Nitkellmu? Refugee Integration Perspectives in Malta. (2013). Aditus & UNHCR: 5

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Report Racism Malta. (2014). *People for a Change*.

¹⁸ Micallef, M. (2015). We are Part of the Economy but not of Society. *Migrant Report*.

integrate into Maltese society.¹⁹ While some did express racist sentiments in their unwillingness to share their campus with such migrants or grant equal employment opportunities to them,²⁰ they were the minority. A strong majority of those who participated in the campus survey expressed more tolerant attitudes.

In comparing statistics from the attitude surveys discussed here, the rate of negative attitudes decreased in the groups completing higher education. Previous studies have explored the role education plays in shaping attitudes towards migrants. A number of studies have indicated that higher education levels tend to indicate more positive or tolerant attitudes towards migrants.²¹ Various theories support this claim including the 'education as liberation' hypothesis which argues that an advanced formal education creates a more enlightened perspective which is less vulnerable to negative intergroup claims.²² Others suggest, "that education produced a more sophisticated cognitive style...fostering an appreciation for nuance and the need for appropriate qualification."²³ Thus, those with a higher education are less likely to be swayed by narrow, stereotypical attacks against other groups.

Still others suggest another dimension to the benefits of education in the 'human capital theory.' Here, negative attitudes towards migrants are seen to be the result of economic fears stemming from the concern that locals will have to compete for jobs with incoming low-skilled migrants. However, a higher education leads to the development of higher skills making the incoming low-skilled migrants less of an economic threat to those who achieve a higher

¹⁹ "University students believe racism exists in Malta." (2014). *Times of Malta*.

²⁰ Scicluna, M. (2014). "Ugly Face of Racism." *Times of Malta*.

²¹ Cam, P. (2014). Philosophy for Children, Values Education and the Inquiring Society. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 46(11), 1203-1211

²² Apostle, R. A., et. al. (1983). *The Anatomy of Social Attitudes*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

²³ Espenshade, T. J., & Calhoun, C. A. (1993) An Analysis of Public Opinion toward Undocumented Immigration. *Population Research and Policy Review*, 12(3), 189-224.: 195

education. Thus, this theory argues that a higher education mitigates such economic concerns and leads to more positive or tolerant attitudes towards migrants.²⁴

However, some studies have been unable to support the claim that a higher education is directly correlated to more positive attitudes towards migrants. For example, some have previously argued that while a higher education does noticeably impact people's attitudes, this impact is limited and the positive attitudes are not internalized.²⁵ Thus, a higher education may temporarily encourage more tolerant thinking but does not affect long-term perspectives. Others have argued instead education only helps negative-thinking individuals further protect in-group interests by giving them the skills to construct more sophisticated ideologies.²⁶

As such, our understanding of the relationship between education and attitudes towards migrants is still uncertain. While these previous studies have explored education as a potential determining factor in attitude formation, they have not examined the education itself. As will be discussed in the next section, there are a number of different educational approaches which stress the development of different cognitive processes and social attitudes. Perhaps it is a specific approach to education which helps to limit or prevent the formation of negative attitudes towards migrants.

For this reason, this study addresses the potential relationship between a specific educational approach, Values Education, and attitudes towards migrants. Values Education is a specific pedagogy of educational activity which emphasizes positive, pro-social values such as tolerance and empathy. Activities engage learners by making these values explicit and drawing

²⁴ Paas, T., & Halapuu, V. (2012). Attitudes towards Immigrants and the Integration of Ethnically Diverse Societies. *Eastern Journal of European Studies*, 3(2), 161-176.

²⁵ Sullivan, J. L., Piereson, J. & Marcus, G. E. (1982). *Political Tolerance and American Democracy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

²⁶ Jackman, M. R. & Muha, M. J. (1984). Education and Intergroup Attitudes: Moral Enlightenment, Superficial Democratic Commitment, or Ideological Refinement? *American Sociological Review* 49: 751-769.

connections between such values and individuals' attitudes and beliefs. Values Education aims to build an empathetic character in its participants which encourages individuals to reflect on and apply the values which increase the well-being of the self and others. The concept of Values Education will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

As stated above, previous studies exploring the link between education and such attitudes have been too broad in their conception of education to produce consistent results and have not explored approaches such as Values Education specifically. In addition to this, previous studies of attitudes towards African migrants in Malta have not specifically addressed the impact of education as an attitude driver. Therefore, this study explores the relationship between Values Education and Maltese attitudes towards African migrants in an effort to further improve our understanding of both of these concepts. *Can experience with Values Education increase the prevalence of positive attitudes and decrease the strength of negative ones?*

To investigate this relationship between Values Education and attitudes towards African migrants, this study utilized a cross-sectional survey design in which Maltese youths between the ages of 18 and 29 years made up the sample population. This self-administered survey determined participants' overall experience with Values Education and their attitudes towards African migrants while also collecting various socio-demographic characteristics to compare the impacts of these various attitude drivers to the impact made by Values Education.

Participants' experience with Values Education was determined by examining their reported frequency and evaluation of experience with related activities, the location and educational level these activities took place in, and the various values and concepts such experiences engaged. The attitude section of the survey addressed participants' perceptions of

African migrants' impacts in Malta based on three categories – economic, cultural, and living space. Each category included two questions to distinguish between participants' attitudes towards broad and specific impacts. This allowed for the creation of a richer dataset and a more nuanced interpretation of the impact of Values Education.

Quantitative data analysis was used to assess the relationship between Values Education and the attitude dimensions. To further our understanding on this relationship, the various factors of Values Education were analyzed and compared to determine which of these demonstrated a stronger correlation with the attitudes. Additionally, the socio-demographic characteristics were investigated as potential attitude drivers and their impacts were compared to that of Values Education to determine the pattern of attitude formation within the context of a complex system of drivers.

The general hypothesis of this study was that Values Education, with its explicit and thoughtful emphasis on positive, pro-social values such as tolerance and empathy would correlate with more positive attitudes towards African migrants. It was assumed that a greater frequency of such experiences would correlate with a higher prevalence and strength of positive attitudes. It was also assumed that participants who experienced Values Education in multiple locations (such as in schools, extracurricular spaces, and at home) and in multiple educational levels (primary, secondary, etc) would also express more positive attitudes. Lastly, it was hypothesized that various values (such as tolerance and empathy) and concepts (such as discrimination and racism) would have a positive impact on and correlate more strongly with such attitudes.

The findings presented in this study will demonstrate a significant relationship between Values Education and youths' attitudes towards African migrants. These findings support the

argument that Values Education can be a positive driver of such attitudes in Malta. Specifically, it was determined that the greater the frequency of such experience, the greater the prevalence of positive attitudes. While negative attitudes still persisted, their strength decreased allowing average attitude scores to rise and become more positive. Additionally, the various factors are discussed to show which aspects of Values Education are making the strongest impact and which could be improved.

Overall, the purpose of this study was to explore the relationship between Values Education and youths' attitudes towards African migrants. Values Education is shown to be a significant approach for improving such attitudes. More positive attitudes reduce the presence of prejudicial and discriminatory sentiments which damage the relationship between these communities. By improving such attitudes and decreasing discrimination, Values Education could increase the opportunities for these communities to successfully integrate. As such, it is essential for policy-makers, educators, and community leaders to take note of the potential to be found in Values Education activities and to further emphasize and apply these experiences to youths consistently across the country.

The following chapters will discuss this study in more detail. The Literature Review discusses the important concepts which are relevant for this study. It begins with a discussion of our current understanding of values from the field of social psychology and demonstrates how values contribute to the development of a moral character. This is followed by a detailed discussion on attitudes and the various processes of attitude formation as well as functions. These concepts are then synthesized as the chapter demonstrates how values contribute to the process of attitude formation. Lastly, this chapter explores the current conceptions of Values Education and defines this term for the study. The process of explicit engagement with values

which increase the well-being of the self and others is discussed as it pertains to the development of an empathetic character.

This is followed by the Methodology chapter. Here, the methodology and design of the study are presented to demonstrate how this study examined the relationship between Values Education and attitudes towards African migrants. It demonstrates the rationale behind this study's choice of a quantitative survey instrument, the sample population targeted, and the sampling techniques utilized. The survey instrument itself is discussed in greater detail and the various statistical tests employed to generate meaningful data are presented. The limitations of the research are also discussed here.

The Data Findings chapter presents the results of the tests discussed in the Methodology chapter while the following Data Discussion chapter presents the interpretation of these results. These two chapters are subdivided into sections based on the various hypotheses of this study. First discussed are the frequencies of attitude responses and an interpretation of how values may be contributing to these. Next, the main hypothesis regarding the frequency of experience with Values Education is discussed. This is followed by a presentation of the difference in impacts of Values Education experiences within different social locations and at different educational levels. These presentations are followed by a discussion of the impacts of values such as tolerance and empathy and concepts such as discrimination and racism. Lastly, the impacts of other potentially mitigating attitude drivers are explored resulting in a comparison of all relevant factors to determine which are most impactful.

Once the data has been presented, the Synthesis chapter brings the conversation back to the existing literature. Here, the study's findings are connected with our existing knowledge of various concepts such as values, attitude formation, and Values Education. This chapter

demonstrates how these findings contribute to and further our understanding of these concepts and how they are meaningful within such context.

The final chapter is the Conclusion. Here, the original problem is restated reminding readers why this study was necessary. Discovering mechanisms for improving attitudes and relations between the Maltese and African communities is necessary to increase opportunities for these communities to successfully integrate. The findings and implications of this study are presented within the context of the existing problem in Malta and further research ideas are suggested.

Review of the Literature

Introduction

This section seeks to review the literature regarding values, attitudes and Values Education in order to orient the reader in the contemporary conversations regarding these concepts and the ways in which these concepts are interrelated. To begin, a discussion on values will demonstrate the evolution of our conception of values drawing mostly from the field of social psychology. Different types of values, such as terminal and instrumental, will be presented along with the various functions they fulfill with special emphasis on the development of a moral character and the skills needed for individuals to live successfully within social societies. Overall, values are understood by this study to be abstract guiding principles meant to help shape individuals' goals and attitudes.

The second section here will present a discussion on attitudes beginning with an evolution of our understanding of the concept. Various processes of attitude formation through affective and cognitive mechanisms will be demonstrated as well as a number of attitude functions – namely utilitarian, ego-defensive, knowledge, and value-expressive functions. This study generally understands attitudes to be positive or negative evaluations of a mental object, whether physical or abstract.

A brief synthesis on values and attitudes will be presented in the third section which demonstrates the link between the two concepts. As values are believed to underlie and provide

structure to the formation and organization of attitudes, it is important to demonstrate how this process works. This study demonstrates that attitudes towards an object will be considered positive if that object promotes or protects the achievement of a desirable value and will be negative if that object limits or hinders the achievement of that value. However, the link between values and attitudes is shown to be most noticeable when a value is activated, or shown to be related to a specific attitude object. In addition, this section shows that the function of an attitude may help predict whether or not an underlying value will play a significant role in the formation of that attitude. The link is most prominent in attitudes fulfilling a value-expressive function.

The last section of this literature review will explore the concept of Values Education. As this study seeks to explore the relationship between Values Education and attitudes towards a specific group of migrants in Malta, it is essential to understand how Values Education uses values to influence and support positive social-attitudes. Here, Values Education is seen to be a vehicle for instilling positive social-values in a population through four various approaches: conservative, liberal, critical, and post-modern styles. Common to all Values Education approaches is the emphasis on making underlying values explicit and promoting those values which further increase the wellbeing of oneself and others. Values Education is demonstrated to be a necessary approach through the argument that this approach is the most effective at creating the kinds of individuals who can handle the stresses and problems present in today's globalized and pluralistic world. It is argued that this is done mostly through the development of tolerant attitudes and an empathetic character. Importantly, this section discusses previous studies on Values Education and its potential influence on individuals' attitudes towards migrants within their country. As this study seeks to explore the relationship between such

concepts, this discussion is particularly insightful and necessary. This section concludes with a presentation of past Values Education success studies as well as a dialogue on its various critiques.

Values

The concept of values has been one of interest in the social sciences for decades with theorists from various fields such as sociology, psychology and anthropology developing different understandings and uses for the concept. When exploring literature from these and related fields, the concept of values seems to grow and encompass too many ideas such as, “attitudes, motivations, objects, measureable quantities, substantive areas of behavior, and relationships such as those between individuals, groups, objects, events.”²⁷ However, in considering all of these conceptions, it is evident that our understanding of values is rooted in normative thinking.

Early sociologists such as Durkheim²⁸ and Weber²⁹ considered values to be the foundation for social and personal organization. Durkheim demonstrated both that, “society was a moral phenomenon and that morality was a social phenomenon.”³⁰ In this understanding, values lend to the development of both a moral code and organized societies in which group members’ behaviors are guided by values. Similarly, anthropologists understand values as, “the criteria people use to evaluate actions, people and events.”³¹ In this sense, values are a tool or standard for evaluation. However, in anthropology discussions about values tend to link them

²⁷ Kluckhohn, C. (1951). *Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action: An Exploration in Definition and Classification*. In T. Parsons & E. Shils (Eds.), *Toward a General Theory of Action* (pp.388-433). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press: 390.

²⁸ Durkheim, É. (1997). *Suicide: A Study in Sociology*. G. Simpson (Ed.). New York: Free Press.

²⁹ Weber, M. (1958). *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York: Scribner.

³⁰ Kluckhohn, C. (1951): 423.

³¹ Schwartz, S. H. (2006). Basic human values: Theory, measurement, and applications. *Revue française de sociologie*, 47.4: 249-288: 1.

too directly to concepts such as 'strongly held beliefs' and fail to separate values from the 'totality of culture'.³²

In an effort to further our understanding of values, it is the field of social psychology that has made the biggest impact. Social psychologists have collectively and generally defined values as abstract goals for or conceptions of desirable ways of behaving or about desirable end-states.^{33,34,35} Examples include equality, freedom, benevolence, friendship, achievement, et cetera. While the term 'value' can be applied to an object itself in which the intrinsic or functional properties of the object determine its utility (or its 'value') to an individual,³⁶ this study focuses on the conception of value as it relates to individuals and their beliefs and dispositions.

Within this conception of value, Milton Rokeach distinguished between terminal and instrumental values. Terminal values, such as equality, freedom, and recognition, refer to desirable states of existence that individuals or societies can work towards.³⁷ Instrumental values, such as honesty, ambition, and competitiveness, are core values which comprise personal characteristics and are permanent in nature.³⁸ In other words, terminal values are about the destination or state of existence individuals wish to reach while instrumental values are those which determine the modes of behavior individuals will adopt to achieve them.

³² Kluckhohn, C. (1951): 421.

³³ Bernard, M. M. et al (2003). The Vulnerability of Values to Attack: Inoculation of Values and Value-Relevant Attitudes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 29(1), 63-75 Verplanken, B., & Holland, R. W. (2002). Motivated Decision Making: Effects of Activation and Self-Centrality of Values on Choices and Behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82(3), 434-447.

³⁴ Feather, N. T. (1995). Values, Valences, and Choice: The Influences of Values on the Perceived Attractiveness and Choice of Alternatives. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 68(6), 1135-1151;

³⁵ Verplanken, B., & Holland, R. W. (2002). Motivated Decision Making: Effects of Activation and Self-Centrality of Values on Choices and Behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82(3), 434-447.

³⁶ Smith, M. B. (1969). *Personal Values in the Study of Lives*; In M. Brewster Smith, *Social Psychology and Human Values: Selected Essays*. Transaction Publishers, 1969: 100

³⁷ Rokeach, M. (1973). *The Nature of Human Values*. New York: Free Press.

³⁸ Ibid

Terminal and instrumental values combined play an important role in shaping, “a person’s self-concept and thus contribute to a person’s sense of identity.”³⁹

While terminal values or the goals they represent can shift in importance, instrumental values tend to be difficult to change. Norman Feather argued that such values, “transcend specific objects and situations, and they have a normative, or oughtness, quality about them.”⁴⁰ As such, values play a role in developing one’s moral code of behavior where ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ or ‘good’ and ‘bad’ can be defined beyond personal preference.⁴¹ It has been argued that in order for such values to, “carry the full force of 'ought', we need to believe that they have validity beyond our individual fiat, that they are as valid for others as for ourselves.”⁴² Thus, instrumental values are not simply personally defined by individuals but involve the agreement and practice by others in a social community as well.

Rokeach believed this oughtness quality of values was not otherworldly, but originates within societies and serves a purpose. He argued that societies demand that individuals behave in certain, socially acceptable ways that bring benefit and not harm.⁴³ Feather also agreed that values are founded in the demands of societies⁴⁴ but Shalom Schwartz has argued that fulfilling societal needs is a secondary function of values that allows individuals to meet the biological requirements of the human condition as well.⁴⁵ People cannot cope with their needs on their own and must engage in a social life in order to achieve their individual goals. Thus, fulfilling individual needs and values becomes the foundation for social organization of groups, as

³⁹ Verplanken, B., & Holland, R. W. (2002): 434

⁴⁰ Feather, N. T. (1995): 1135

⁴¹ Kluckhohn, C. (1951): 396

⁴² Brewster Smith, M. (1969): 111

⁴³ Rokeach, M. (1973): 9

⁴⁴ Feather, N. T. (1995): 1135

⁴⁵ Schwartz, S. H. (2012): 4

Durkheim indicated.⁴⁶ In such a social life, values are needed to create an agreed upon standard by which actions and behavior are evaluated so group members can engage appropriately and without conflict.⁴⁷

Two mechanisms are important in the use of values within societies. The first is a process of self-control in which values are internalized by individuals who then monitor and evaluate their own behavior according to these internal guides.⁴⁸ This relieves the society as a whole from the need to maintain and force constant social control. The second is the process by which individuals cite specific values to justify certain actions as socially appropriate.⁴⁹ To use a famous example, Robin Hood may appeal to the value of equality as a defense for his tendency to 'steal from the rich and give to the poor'. By positioning the value of equality as more important than other values, he may defend his actions as 'right' in that they seek to fulfill a higher value.

However, societies discourage values which disrupt their smooth functioning (such as stealing) through sanctions. In order to prevent inappropriate behavior, societies use values to motivate and control the actions of group members.⁵⁰ As such, it is a goal of societies to instill values that promote a peaceful and prosperous group life. Terminal values are larger goals for society,⁵¹ such as equality and freedom, which use instrumental values, such as kindness and honesty, to motivate appropriate action by group members. Thus, a primary function of values is to act as important guiding principles helping to enhance social cohesion in societies by

⁴⁶ Durkheim, É. (1997)

⁴⁷ Kluckhohn, C. (1951): 398, 400

⁴⁸ Schwartz, S. H. (2012): 14

⁴⁹ Ibid

⁵⁰ Kluckhohn, C. (1951): 400

⁵¹ Schwartz, S. H. (2006): 249

defining what is socially acceptable and motivating group members to behave in ways that promote group survival and prosperity.

Perfect social cohesion within a society is not an easy task to accomplish, however. Despite instilling pro-social values in group members, societies may still experience conflict. The 'values theory', created by Schwartz, argues that there are ten fundamental values held across the world that are situated beneath four over-arching value structures (Appendix 1).⁵² These structures include 'openness to change' which lies opposite of 'conservatism', and 'self-enhancement' which lies opposite of 'self-transcendence'. While these values may be shared across societies, "individuals differ in how they rank the importance of specific values."⁵³ The value of conformity, a 'conservatism' value that seeks to minimize actions which disrupt smooth group functioning, lies nearly in direct opposition of the value of self-direction, an 'openness to change' value which motivates independent thought and creativity. As individuals rank the values they hold by importance factor, they create different ordered systems of value priorities. These rankings tend to be influenced by individuals' different life experiences and circumstances.⁵⁴ Conflict can be experienced by individuals who hold different value priority systems, especially as those systems contribute to the creation of opposing attitudes. The link between values and attitudes will be addressed in a further section. First, it is necessary to discuss 'attitudes'.

Attitudes

Defining Attitudes

⁵² Schwartz, S. H. (2006)

⁵³ Verplanken, B., & Holland, R. W. (2002): 434

⁵⁴ Schwartz, S. H. (2006): 206

The concept of attitude has been one of the most studied and discussed topics in contemporary social psychology. Gordon Allport even referred to it as, “the most distinctive and indispensable concept”⁵⁵ for the field. At the time of Allport’s writings, research surrounding attitudes was on the rise. Over the next several decades, research continued to build our understanding of attitudes through three phases. Throughout the 1920’s and 1930’s attitude research focused mainly on measuring attitudes and exploring the relationship between attitudes and behaviors.⁵⁶ In the 1950’s and 1960’s, the focus shifted towards exploring the processes of attitude change and it wasn’t until the 1980’s that attitude research centered on discovering the structure, formation and function of attitude systems.

Various definitions of attitudes have been constructed throughout the past several decades according to different understandings of the anatomy of the concept. When it comes to the general structure of attitudes, social psychologists have followed three models. The ‘one-component model’ preferred by LL Thurstone defined an attitude as, “the affect for or against a psychological object.”⁵⁷ In this model, attitudes are simply an evaluation – the degree of favor or disfavor held towards a thing (physical or abstract). The ‘two-component model’ favored by Allport added a second component—a ‘mental readiness’ to act. Allport offered an integrative definition of attitude as, “a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual’s response to all objects and situations with which it is related.”⁵⁸ His definition assumed that attitudes influence behavior by

⁵⁵ Allport, G. W. (1935). *Attitudes*. In *A Handbook of Social Psychology* (pp.798-844). Worcester, MA: Clark University Press: 798

⁵⁶ Hogg, M., & Vaughan, G. (2013). *Social Psychology*: UEL. Pearson Higher Ed: 136

⁵⁷ Thurstone, L. L. (1931). The Measurement of Social Attitudes. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 26(3), 249-269: 261

⁵⁸ Allport, G. W. (1935): 810

motivating and directing the individual to act. Thus, attitudes are a mental predisposition for action and evaluative judgments.

The third model is a commonly used structure of attitudes for contemporary research. The 'three-component model' conceives of attitudes as having three elements. Known as the 'ABCs', these are affective, behavioral, and cognitive – or feelings, actions and thoughts. Within this model, Himmelfarb and Eagly defined an attitude as, "a relatively enduring organization of beliefs about, and feelings and behavioral tendencies towards, socially significant objects, groups, event or symbols."⁵⁹ Within this conception, attitudes are a complex collection of thoughts and ideas, behaviors and intentions, and feelings and preferences.

However, this model is sometimes criticized for its assumption of a direct link between attitudes and behaviors, a potential link that is not yet fully agreed upon.⁶⁰ Those unprepared to conclude a direct link tend to argue that attitudes are just evaluations involving feelings and beliefs. But others insist that attitudes involve a behavioral component. Daryl Bem's theory of self-perception suggests that one can infer their own attitudes by reflecting on their past behavior.⁶¹ For example, when one cannot determine their attitude towards something, such as eating eggplant, they may reflect on their past encounters with it. If they remember consistently pushing a plate of eggplant away without eating it, they may conclude their distaste for eggplant. As the link between attitudes and behavior is outside the scope of this study, it will not be covered more extensively.

⁵⁹ Hogg, M., & Vaughan, G. (2013): 137; Himmelfarb, S., & Eagly, A. (1974). *Readings in Attitude Change*. New York: John Wiley.

⁶⁰ Hogg, M., & Vaughan, G. (2013): 138

⁶¹ Bem, D. J. (1972). *Self-Perception Theory*. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*. New York: Academic Press, Vol. 6 (pp. 1-62)

To take into account the various definitions of attitudes over the past several decades and determine a relevant and appropriate concept of the term, this study defines an attitude as an evaluation of an object, whether physical or abstract, as good or bad, desirable or undesirable. This evaluation is rooted in both affective and cognitive elements in which an individual's feelings towards or knowledge of an object will influence their attitude towards it. While the link to behavior has yet to be completely assessed, it is accepted that attitudes at least precede behavior and act as guides influencing our choices and decisions for action.⁶² Thus, an attitude is an evaluation of an object based on thoughts and feelings and can influence one's behavior.

The Formation of Attitudes

Now that a general understanding of the concept has been established, it is necessary to discuss attitude formation. This is an important factor for this study as it seeks to explore the influence of values-based education (VBE) on attitude formation in Malta. Contemporary studies have demonstrated a variety of processes involving affect, behavior and cognition through which attitudes are learned and developed.⁶³ Attitudes may be developed as a result of an individual's direct experience with an object or stimulus, vicariously through observation of others' experiences, or through reflective reasoning and thought. Social psychologists tend to discuss attitude formation as a process of conditioning.⁶⁴

Commonly, attitudes are formed through an emphasis on affective processes – forming attitudes through emotions. These tend to be forms of conditioning such as classical and instrumental conditioning, modeling, observational learning (also known as vicarious

⁶² Hogg, M., & Vaughan, G. (2013): 136

⁶³ Fishbein, M., & Ajzen, I. (1975). *Belief, Attitude, Intention, and Behavior: An Introduction to Theory and Research*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

⁶⁴ Fiske, S. T. (2010). *Social Beings: Core Motives in Social Psychology* (2nd Ed.). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley: 236

conditioning), and mere exposure. A number of studies have demonstrated these various processes at work first discovering a learning process and then applying it to the formation of attitudes. These studies show that attitudes are the result of learning processes. While attitudes can be formed around cognitive processes, most theories of attitude formation emphasize affective processes. The 'primacy of affect' posits that, "affective reactions, relative to cognitive ones, are more immediate, involving, inescapable, irrevocable, and compelling. Thus affect enters in at the first stages that make an attitude an attitude (a reaction with a strong affective-evaluative component)."⁶⁵

One of the first learning processes discussed is classical conditioning. In a classic study by Ivan Pavlov with a dog, he paired a metronome beat (controlled stimulus) with food powder (uncontrolled stimulus). When he played the beat, Pavlov would give the dog food powder which stimulated the dog's salivation reflex. He uncovered the process of classical conditioning when, over time, he was able to stimulate the dog's salivation reflex with the metronome beat alone and not the food. Fiske argues that attitudes in humans are socially formed through a similar process. If a parent exhibits nonverbal cues of fear or anger when discussing a particular political party or ethnic group, their child may develop the same negative associations to those groups and respond negatively to their mention out of reflex.⁶⁶ Thus, individuals can learn attitudes indirectly, or subconsciously, through the consistent pairing of a positive or negative reaction to a certain object or stimulus.

The next form of conditioning is more direct. Instrumental conditioning is a process which influences the frequency of certain behaviors through rewards and punishments. B. F. Skinner's famous pigeon study demonstrated this process when laboratory pigeons pecking

⁶⁵ Ibid, 241

⁶⁶ Fiske, S. T. (2010): 236

around their cages randomly pecked at a key that released a food pellet (reinforcement). This reward encouraged the pigeons to repeat the behavior. Individuals' attitudes can be shaped through similar conditioning processes using reinforcements in the form of rewards or punishments. One study concluded that university participants developed more positive or negative attitudes towards a 'springtime Aloha Week' when phone interviewers said "good" every time the participants responded in a desirable way.⁶⁷ This positive reinforcing and offer of affirmation for specific answers conditioned the attitudes of participants enough that those attitudes held more than a week later during a follow-up.

Both classical and instrumental conditioning involve the formation of attitudes through an individual's personal experiences. Forms of social learning, such as modeling and observational learning, reflect individual conditioning processes, but do so from a source of social interaction. In modeling (similar to classical conditioning), individuals learn by imitating and reproducing the actions or attitudes of another, likely admired, person.⁶⁸ If a peer or older sibling uses racial slurs to demonstrate their negative attitudes towards a certain ethnic group, an observing learner can imitate and adopt similar attitudes.⁶⁹ While in classical conditioning, the learned attitude is the result of a conditioned reflex, the adoption of attitudes in modeling tends to be the result of a more overt form of social learning.

Similarly, observational learning parallels the process of instrumental conditioning. A study by Berger and Lambert demonstrated that simply watching others receive rewards and

⁶⁷ Insko, C. A. (1965). Verbal Reinforcement of Attitude. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 2(4), 621-623

⁶⁸ Hogg, M., & Vaughan, G. (2013): 156

⁶⁹ Fiske, S. T. (2010): 238

punishments was enough to motivate individuals to shape their own behavior accordingly.⁷⁰ As is fitting, this process is also known as vicarious conditioning because it depends on an individual forming an attitude indirectly based on observation of someone else's direct experience. For example, a student in class observes a peer being reprimanded by the teacher for misbehaving and learns to avoid behaving similarly. Fiske demonstrates how this process of learning is applied to attitude formation among peer groups in pointing to the number of teens who, "have learned the cool attitudes by watching peers reward or punish other teens for endorsing certain music, styles, or convictions."⁷¹

This next form of attitude formation is not considered a process of conditioning nor is it based on a system of rewards or punishments. The mere exposure effect, as discovered in 1968 by Robert Zajonc, depends simply on an individual's exposure to a stimulus. Direct experiences help provide individuals with the information about an object needed to determine how much they like or dislike it, or to form an attitude around it. The mere exposure effect suggests that one does not actually need any information about an object in order to build an attitude towards it. Instead, attitude formation can occur simply as a result of the frequency of exposure one has to an object or stimulus.⁷² If an individual is repeatedly exposed to an initially neutral or positive stimulus, their attitude towards it will be enhanced. For example, if one hears a song on the radio that is somewhat appealing, consecutive encounters with that song are likely to become more and more appealing, generating a more positive and strong attitude towards the stimulus.

⁷⁰ Berger, S. M., & Lambert, W. W. (1968). *Stimulus-Response Theory in Contemporary Social Psychology*. In G. Lindzey & E. Aronson (Eds.) *The Handbook of Social Psychology* (2nd ed., pp. 81-178). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

⁷¹ Fiske, S. T. (2010): 239

⁷² Zajonc, R. B. (1968). Attitudinal Effects of Mere Exposure. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 9(2p2), 1-27.

While these discussed processes rely heavily on affect for attitude formation, cognitive processes exist as well. Cognitively-based attitudes are formed as the result of reasoned and informative approaches to an object or stimulus. Beliefs about an objects (un)desirable attributes or the likelihood that the object will result in (un)desirable outcomes form the basis for one's attitude towards the object.⁷³ One example of a cognitive process of attitude formation is Fishbein and Ajzen's Expectancy-Value Model. This theory suggests that some attitudes are formed following a cognitive process of consideration in which the individual weighs the sum of the expected values of all the attributes an object has to determine whether it is an overall favorable or unfavorable object.⁷⁴ This resembles a weighing of the pros and cons.

Overall, attitudes are formed through a variety of processes through direct and indirect means. In addition, attitudes can form as a result of more than one process. For example, knowing a particular snake is highly venomous (cognitive component) can increase a person's reaction of fear (affective component) when in the presence of that snake. While the processes of affective and cognitive attitude formation tend to be studied separately, it is generally understood that these processes are deeply interdependent.⁷⁵

Functions of Attitudes

Most attitude formation theories imply a function of attitudes as evaluative, allowing individuals to categorize entities with favor or disfavor, tendencies to approach or avoid. A number of other functions of values exist to help make lives easier and more enjoyable. Daniel Katz proposed four main functions of attitudes related to the self and the social world. These are

⁷³ Hogg, M. A., & Cooper, J. M. (Eds.). (2007). *The Sage Handbook of Social Psychology* (concise student Ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Sage: 125

⁷⁴ Fishbein, M., & Ajzen, I. (1975).

⁷⁵ Storbeck, J., & Clore, G. L. (2007). On the Interdependence of Cognition and Emotion. *Cognition & Emotion*, 21(6), 1212-1237.

(1) the utilitarian, (2) the ego-defensive, (3) the value-expressive, and (4) the knowledge function.⁷⁶ His functional approach to the study of attitudes suggests that they help individuals reconcile their own personal needs through expression and defense with the needs inherent in living in a social world, such as the ability to adapt and seek knowledge.

The first of these functions is the utilitarian, also known as the instrumental function. In his writing, Katz based this function off of the previous works of utilitarians such as Jeremy Bentham and their understanding of what drives mankind. The purpose of attitudes serving a utilitarian function is to promote basic survival through the most simplistic means – to maximize rewards and minimize penalties.⁷⁷ Attitudes serving this function are seen as goal-driven, or a means to an end, and can be categorized into two types. The first type seeks to use attitudes to further one's own self-interests.⁷⁸ An example of this would be the favorable attitude a worker has towards a political party which would help him advance in society.

The second type of utilitarian function is that of object-appraisal. Most evaluative attitudes and conditioning styles which determine what is good or bad, desirable or undesirable fulfill this function. Russell Fazio argued that attitudes serve an object-appraisal function by providing an individual with an orientation towards an attitude object.⁷⁹ Thus, merely possessing an attitude is useful because of that orientation provided. For example, holding a negative attitude towards snakes is useful when one cannot easily distinguish between the safe and venomous kinds. Others have pointed out that, "knowing what one feels, and therefore not

⁷⁶ Katz, D. (1960). The Functional Approach to the Study of Attitudes. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 24(2), 163-204: 170

⁷⁷ Maio, G. R., & Olson, J. M. (1995). Relations between values, attitudes, and behavioral intentions: The moderating role of attitude function. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 31(3), 266-285: 267

⁷⁸ Fiske, S. T. (2010): 232

⁷⁹ Fazio, R. H. (1989). *On the Power and Functionality of Attitudes: The Role of Attitude Accessibility*. In Pratkanis, A. R., Breckler, S. J., & Greenwald, A. R. (Eds) *Attitude Structure and Function* (pp. 153-179).

having to struggle with one's judgments and decisions, relieves stress."⁸⁰ Rather than spending too much time evaluating every stimulus to determine whether it is good or bad, attitudes can act like a schema – a cognitive structure which organizes and guides memories of an attitude object for easy future access.⁸¹ As such, attitudes can provide immediate object-appraisal, allowing individuals to make sense of the world quickly without having to determine their reaction to a stimulus from scratch each time.⁸² Saving cognitive energy through the use of attitudes helps to reduce stress.

The next function of attitudes is related to knowledge. This function is based on Gestalt psychology and the principles about perceptual and cognitive structure. Katz argued that the knowledge function is, "based upon an individual's need to give adequate structure to his universe...The search for meaning, the need to understand, the trend toward better organization of perceptions and beliefs to provide clarity and consistency for the individual,"⁸³ are all important components of attitudes here. In an effort to understand the world and one's place within it, attitudes provide a frame of reference allowing individuals to make connections, determine cause and effect, and make sense of an otherwise chaotic universe.⁸⁴ Such understanding provides for some consistency and stability allowing individuals to feel a sense of control. One example of a knowledge attitude is Walter Lippmann's concept of a stereotype – a mental conception or image in a person's mind that is based on cultural knowledge rather than

⁸⁰ Fiske, S. T. (2010): 232

⁸¹ Pratkanis, A. R., & Greenwald, A. G. (1989). *A Sociocognitive Model of Attitude Structure and Function*. In *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* Vol 22 (pp. 245-285): 249

⁸² Smith, M. B., Bruner, J. S., & White, R. W. (1956). *Opinions and Personality*. New York: John Wiley

⁸³ Katz, D. (1960): 170

⁸⁴ Hogg, M. A., & Cooper, J. M. (2007).

direct experience.⁸⁵ While not the best practice for societies, stereotypes provide individuals with quick clarity and order in regards to unfamiliar stimuli.

However, meaning making is not a process that exists only between individuals and greater societies. As argued by Katz, “people not only seek to make the most of their external world and what it offers, but they also expend a great deal of their energy on living with themselves.”⁸⁶ While the first two attitude functions work to orient an individual within the greater world, these next two functions of attitudes are related to fulfilling inner needs such as self- defense and self-expression.

The first of these described by Katz is the ego-defensive function. Pulling from Freudian and neo-Freudian thinking, attitudes which defend the ego allow the individual to, “protect himself from acknowledging the basic truths about himself or the harsh realities in his external world.”⁸⁷ As self-conscious beings, humans have a need to feel positively about themselves and avoid feelings of shame and guilt. To achieve this, attitudes can protect one’s ego by serving as a defense mechanism against potential threats to one’s positive sense of self.⁸⁸ One mechanism of ego-defense is that of denial in which individuals avoid facing an undesirable reality about themselves or about the world they find themselves in. While relieving some stress and anxiety, this mechanism does not allow individuals to progress towards self-improvement and may therefore inhibit both personal growth and one’s ability to obtain, “the maximum satisfactions available to him from the world in which he lives.”⁸⁹ Thus, an attitude can serve to protect one’s self-esteem and relieve anxiety, but in doing so will stunt them.

⁸⁵ Lippmann, W. (1922). *Public Opinion*. New York: Macmillan

⁸⁶ Katz, D. (1960): 172

⁸⁷ Katz, D. (1960): 170

⁸⁸ Hogg, M. A., & Cooper, J. M. (2007).

⁸⁹ Katz, D. (1960): 172

The fourth and final main function of attitudes as outlined by Katz is the value-expressive function. Attitudes held in service of the self here define and maintain self-worth through the expression of one's central values and the important beliefs that make up a person's self-identity.⁹⁰ This expression is not only a process of communication between an individual and others in their society, but also a source of satisfaction which is derived from one's ability to explore and share who they believe themselves to be as a person. To this effect, Katz states, "the reward to the person in these instances is not so much a matter of gaining social recognition or monetary rewards as of establishing his self-identity and confirming his notion of the sort of person he sees himself to be."⁹¹ As such, attitudes fulfilling this function are heavily dependent on the sorts of values held by the individual.

Building further on this function, Fiske distinguished between two forms of value-expressive attitudes. He argued that such attitudes can represent a person's identity, both publicly and privately.⁹² In the public sphere, value-expressive attitudes demonstrate a person's conformity to a larger group's social standards, facilitating their sense of belonging to the group. This is known as the 'social adjustive function' and expresses an individual's desire to belong to a group who holds a certain value – for example, 'I want to belong to a group that defends civil liberties.'⁹³ The expressive of private, personal values, known as 'pure value expression,' helps individuals develop their personal self-image.⁹⁴ Such an expression would be, 'I am the kind of person who believes in civil liberties.' Thus, attitudes fulfilling the value-expression function give clarity to one's sense of self and facilitate social belonging.

⁹⁰ Pratkanis, A. R. & Greenwald, A. G. (1989): 249

⁹¹ Katz, D. (1960): 173

⁹² Fiske, S. T. (2010): 234

⁹³ Ibid

⁹⁴ Katz, D. (1960): 174

Synthesizing Values and Attitudes

Values have been argued to be a high-ordered concept with an evaluative function.⁹⁵ As such, the potential for values to act as determinants, or critical motivators, of attitudes has been a topic of much interest. For example, previous studies have shown that values can predict attitudes towards nuclear weapons,⁹⁶ attitudes towards environmental issues,⁹⁷ and beliefs in a just world.⁹⁸ With these results in mind, values are thought to provide structure for the organization and formation of attitudes. They are the standards by which individuals evaluate objects, events, behaviors, other people, etc. Schwartz argued that such evaluations are positive if the objects promote or protect the achievement of the goals that one values, and are negative if they hinder or threaten the achievement of those goals.⁹⁹

The importance an individual grants to various values will play a role in attitude formation. An individual's value-system is the collection of values they hold to a high standard and the order in which they rank those values. For example, consider an individual who holds the value of stimulation (excitement, novelty, and challenge in life) in a position of high importance, and the value of security (safety, harmony, and stability) in a position of low importance.¹⁰⁰ Such a person would be likely to have a positive attitude towards thrill-seeking adventures, such as bungee jumping. With a limited inclination towards security, and thus personal safety, and a high inclination towards excitement, the dangers of bungee jumping are

⁹⁵ Hogg, M., & Vaughan, G. (2013): 159

⁹⁶ Kristiansen, C. M., Matheson, K. (1990). Value Conflict, Value Justification, and Attitudes Towards Nuclear Weapons. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 130(5), 665-675.

⁹⁷ Schultz, P. W., & Zelezny, L. (1999). Values as Predictors of Environmental Attitudes. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 19, 255-265

⁹⁸ Feather, N. T. (1991). Human Values, Global Self-Esteem, & Belief in a Just World. *Journal of Personality*, 59(1), 83-107.

⁹⁹ Schwartz, S. H. (2012): 16

¹⁰⁰ Schwartz, S. H. (2006): 250

not likely to dissuade such an individual from viewing the sport positively.¹⁰¹ In contrast, someone who values security well above stimulation would likely develop a negative attitude towards bungee jumping.

However, simply holding a value may not be enough to affect an attitude. It has been demonstrated that values must be activated in order to influence one's attitude towards an object.¹⁰² Thus, the values upon which specific attitudes are formed must be relevant and directly linked to that attitude. For example, holding the value of universalism (respect and tolerance) will have little influence on one's development of an attitude towards bungee jumping as these two concepts are not directly linked. In a study exploring the role of value activation in the link between values and attitudes towards a persuasive message, Ostrom and Brock asked participants to draw an explicit link between the message statement and either important/relevant values or unimportant/irrelevant values.¹⁰³ Attitudes towards the message linked with important values were later more resistant to change when attacked than those linked with unimportant values. This suggests that the relevance and importance of a value towards a specific object will affect its influence on the development of and strength of an attitude towards that object.

Another study has indicated that the function of an attitude may affect the link between values and attitudes. In a study exploring the effect of attitude function on the value-attitude link, Maio and Olson demonstrated that there is a higher correlation between underlying values and attitudes with a value-expressive function and a lower correlation between underlying

¹⁰¹ Schwartz, S. H. (2012): 16

¹⁰² Davidov, E., et. al. (2014). Individual Values, Cultural Embeddedness, and Anti-Immigration Sentiments: Explaining Differences in the Effect of Values on Attitudes Toward Immigration Across Europe. *Kölner Zeitschrift Für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, 66(1), 263-285: 267

¹⁰³ Ostrom, T.M., & Brock, T.C. (1969). Cognitive Bonding to Central Values and Resistance to a Communication Advocating Change in Policy Orientation. *Journal of Experimental Research in Personality*, 4, 42-50.

values and attitudes which are aimed at fulfilling another function (such as utilitarian attitudes).¹⁰⁴ To give an example, they demonstrate the difference between attitudes towards a swastika symbol and towards a wrist watch. Attitudes towards the swastika are likely to be value-expressive because they represent one's personal values and social identity whereas attitudes towards a wrist-watch will be mostly utilitarian (what benefit does it yield?) because watches serve a functional purpose and are rarely construed as symbols of values.¹⁰⁵ Thus, knowing what function an attitude fulfills may help predict whether or not values will be an important determinant of the formation of that attitude. The assumed relationship between one's personal values and their attitudes has thus been proven for value-expressive attitudes but may be negligible in attitudes fulfilling other functions.

Values Education

As other studies have been inconclusive about the impact of education as a determinant of attitudes towards migrants, this study seeks to contribute to this field of knowledge by exploring a specific education strategy. Does Values Education have an impact on attitudes, and if so, what kind of impact? Values are generally understood as abstract goals or conceptions of desirable end-states or means of achieving those end states.¹⁰⁶ They are fundamental to the construction of individuals' worldviews and as evaluative criteria, it has been demonstrated in earlier sections that values help guide and shape individuals' attitudes and beliefs. In building relationships between individuals and their larger world, it has been argued that, "values are the

¹⁰⁴ Maio, G. R., & Olson, J. M. (1995). Relations between Values, Attitudes, and Behavioral Intentions: The Moderating Role of Attitude Function. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 31(3), 266-285.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 282

¹⁰⁶ Becker, B. W., & Connor, P. E. (1983). A Course on Human Values for the Management Curriculum. *Journal of Management Education*, 8(1), 10-16.

glue that holds societies together.”¹⁰⁷ As such, societies have worked to instill socially-acceptable values in their members in order to promote social cohesion and the welfare for the social group as a whole.

This need to promote values has spurred a history of discussions regarding the importance of values in the educational system of societies.¹⁰⁸ Schools act as an important transmitter of societal norms and expectations. As argued by Peadar Cremin, the school represents a microcosm of society in which, “the classroom presents a web of relationships and tensions as formidable and possibly as threatening for the young learner as any that he or she will have to cope with in adult life.”¹⁰⁹ As such, educational practices over the past ten to fifteen years have begun to give more attention to values in all education levels,¹¹⁰ but especially in tertiary education.¹¹¹

The inclusion of values in education has taken on a number of forms through various approaches. Some have advocated for the transmission of prescriptive values where desired values are directly presented to individuals and declared as ‘right’.¹¹² Such practices aim at decreasing anti-social attitudes and behaviors by inculcating specific values over others but lack an emphasis on the journey individuals must take to adopt those values for themselves. For this reason, others have advocated for more participant-focused educational practices where individuals reflect on values as a concept and discover how values relate to their own personal

¹⁰⁷ Coyne, K., & Coyne, R. (2001). Dispelling the Myths of Character Education. *Principal Leadership*, 2(3), 58–61.

¹⁰⁸ Halstead, J. M., & Taylor, M. J. (2000). Learning and Teaching about Values: A Review of Recent Research. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 30(2), 169–202.

¹⁰⁹ Cremin, P. (1993). *Promoting Education for Peace*. In Cremin, P. Ed. *Education for Peace* (pp.1-13). Limerick: Education Studies Association of Ireland: 4

¹¹⁰ Jones, T. M. (2009). Framing the Framework: Discourse in Australia’s National Values Education Policy. *Educational Research for Policy & Practice*, 8, 35–57.

¹¹¹ Grundstein-Amado, R. (1995). Values Education: A New Direction for Medical Education. *Journal of Medical Ethics*, 21, 174–178.

¹¹² Howard, R. W., et al. (2004). Politics of Character Education. *Educational Policy*, 18(1), 188–215.

lives.¹¹³ This focus offers individuals more control over their discovery of values and creativity in determining the importance of each value.

These approaches, among others, have evolved into a larger educational focus known as Values-Based Education, or Values Education. Values Education has been conceptualized and defined in various ways by different theorists and practitioners. The basic foundation of Values Education and the common denominator in all approaches to it is that Values Education is about making values explicit and emphasizing a particular set of values in a learning environment.¹¹⁴

Various conceptions of Values Education build upon this foundation and add a number of other features or principles. Cremin's approach refers to such as, "all educational endeavors and activities which promote, in the learner attitudes of tolerance and empathy as well as skills in cooperation...so that learners will have the capacity and motivation, individually and collectively, to live in peace with others."¹¹⁵ This definition highlights the notion that Values Education is activity-based. It is not a subject of study or distinct curriculum to be taught, nor is it restricted to formal educational institutions.¹¹⁶ As such, Values Education activities can take place in any organization or setting and can involve participants of all ages. Toomey and Lovat have argued similarly conceptualizing Values Education as "pedagogy" rather than a stand-alone subject.¹¹⁷ Thus, it is generally agreed that Values Education is not a single course or subject but rather an educational process or journey.

¹¹³ Kirschenbaum, H. (1976). Clarifying Values Clarification: Some Theoretical Issues and a Review of Research. *Group & Organization Studies*, 1(1), 99-116.

¹¹⁴ Moscardo, G., & Murphy, L. (2011). Towards Values Education in Tourism: The Challenge of Measuring the Values. *Journal of Teaching in Travel and Tourism* 11, 76-93: 76

¹¹⁵ Cremin, P. (1993): 2

¹¹⁶ Robb, B. (1998). What is Values Education-and So What?. *The Journal of Values Education*, 1, 1-11: 4

¹¹⁷ Toomey, R., & Lovat, T. (2009). Values Education, Quality Teaching, and Service Learning. *Beliefs and Values* 1(2), 220-229: 221

Cremin's conception of Values Education also stresses the promotion of tolerant and empathetic attitudes. Such emphasis on tolerance and empathy reflects the ethos of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in that it argues education, "shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups."¹¹⁸ Other conceptions of Values Education have also placed an emphasis on the building of tolerance and an empathetic character. For example, in Nazareth and Waples' conception of Values Education, it is important for individuals to build their moral character upon such positive values.¹¹⁹ John Dewey similarly emphasized the need for education to develop students' moral and civic character to prepare them for democratic citizenship.¹²⁰

Others have demonstrated a more defined conception of Values Education. After initial developments, Bill Robb generated the following definition:

an activity which can take place in any organization during which people are assisted by others, who may be older, in authority or more experienced, to make explicit those values underlying their own attitudes, to assess the effectiveness of these values, attitudes, and associated behavior for their own and others' long term wellbeing and to reflect on and acquire other values and behavior which they themselves realize are more effective for long term well-being of self and others.¹²¹

His definition agrees with previous conceptions of Values Education as being an activity that can take place in any setting in which values are made explicit. However, he goes further to add that such activities need to involve an experienced and appropriate facilitator of sorts. The relationship fostered between students and teachers has been emphasized in other conceptions

¹¹⁸ Article 26. Preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

¹¹⁹ Nazareth, P. & Waples, M. E. (1980). *To Live or Not to Live with Values. All India Association of Catholic Schools*, Delhi: 35

¹²⁰ Dewey, J. (1916). *Democracy and Education*. New York: Free Press.

¹²¹ Robb, B. (1998): 4

as well.¹²² As Values Education activities can often happen outside of the classroom, a facilitator can not only be a school teacher, but also a workplace supervisor, a youth leader, religious figure, or even a senior school pupil.¹²³

This definition also states that the purpose of making values explicit is to allow students to draw a definitive link between underlying values and the attitudes they influence. A previous section has demonstrated that values underlie and help shape attitudes towards objects. This process tends to occur without conscious thought or consideration, and as such, most individuals are unaware of the link between their values and attitudes. Values Education works to make this link more explicit and allow students to thoughtfully consider their values and the role they play in shaping one's personally held attitudes. Because of this, Arweck and Nesbitt described Values Education as a 'tool-kit' helping individuals think about values in their lives and apply them to the navigation of relationships and social situations as well as the formation of their own attitudes.¹²⁴

However, simply considering the link between values and attitudes is just a mental exercise. The purpose stated by this definition for such an exercise is for individuals to increase their own and others' long term wellbeing. Thus, it is not enough to know how values and attitudes relate. Time spent reflecting on values is meant to emphasize the role particular values play in shaping socially positive or negative attitudes, and thus the desirability of their associated behaviors. As Values Education seeks to build tolerant attitudes and an empathetic character, related activities will focus on values that correlate to these attitudes. In addition, values relating to undesirable social attitudes and behaviors will be explored in order to limit

¹²² Toomey, R., & Lovat, T. (2009): 221

¹²³ Robb, B. (1998): 5

¹²⁴ Arweck, E., & Nesbitt, E. (2004). Values Education: The Development and Classroom Use of an Educational Programme. *British Educational Research Journal*, 30(2), 245-261: 251

their influence. In this manner, Values Education motivates learners to discover the benefits of values such as cooperation as opposed to competition¹²⁵ and to adopt a, “sense of responsibility, [and] a respect and sympathy or empathy for others.”¹²⁶

With these conceptions in mind, this study defines Values Education as a learning process that helps participants develop a clear and deeper understanding of the underlying values that shape their attitudes and behaviors. This allows participants in Values Education activities to see how their values affect the ways they think and act as individuals, as well as the ways they relate to others (family, friends, colleagues, strangers, etc). At the center of Values Education lies the desire to identify the values and behaviors that increase the well-being of self and others, through an emphasis, among others, on understanding and respecting both self and others. Value Based Education processes can take place both in the classroom and outside of classroom and focus on promoting tolerance and respect.

Approaches to Values Education

The term ‘Values Education’ has served as an umbrella term over a number of educational approaches with this end goal. For example, the term has been used synonymously in the past with terms like ‘moral education,’¹²⁷ ‘character education,’¹²⁸ or ‘religious education.’¹²⁹ Jones identified four general categories of Values Education, each with a number of imbedded approaches. These categories are conservative approaches, liberal or development

¹²⁵ Cremin, P. (1993): 4

¹²⁶ Ibid: 23

¹²⁷ Moscardo, G., & Murphy, L. (2011). Towards Values Education in Tourism: The Challenge of Measuring the Values. *Journal of Teaching in Travel and Tourism*, 11, 76-93: 78

¹²⁸ Halstead, J. M., & Taylor, M. J. (2000).

¹²⁹ Beck, C. (1971). *Moral Education in the Schools: Some Practical Suggestions. Profiles in Practical Education*. Toronto, Canada: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

approaches, critical approaches, and post-modern approaches.¹³⁰ They each adopt a slightly different conception of values and work to instill values in learners through different methods.

The first group is made up of conservative approaches which emphasize the direct transmission of values from the facilitator to the learner.¹³¹ Examples include religious instruction, values inculcation, citizenship and civic education, and character education.¹³² The conservative approach tends to conceive of values much like Rokeach's instrumental values – as desirable character traits or virtues.¹³³ Furthermore, these approaches are founded in absolutism, believing that values exist in a moral hierarchy and such prescribed values will always be more worthwhile than others will.¹³⁴ Lickona's description of character education is a specific example of this.¹³⁵ As values in the conservative approach are absolute and defined by figures of authority, related Values Education activities will explicitly present the desired values and leave little room for the individual reflection process. One critique of this approach is that simply telling students which values are desirable, "is ineffective because the benefit comes from uncovering for oneself what is required to become more responsible."¹³⁶ Thus, conservative approaches tend to lack the cultivation of good judgment in learners.¹³⁷

With that in mind, Jones' second category, and perhaps the most practiced, is liberal or development approaches. Examples including moral development¹³⁸ and values clarification¹³⁹

¹³⁰ Jones, T. M. (2009).

¹³¹ Ibid

¹³² Moscardo, G., & Murphy, L. (2011): 78

¹³³ Sutrop, M. (2015). Can Values be Taught? The Myth of Value-Free Education. *Trames Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences*, 19(2): 189-202: 193

¹³⁴ Ibid: 194

¹³⁵ Lickona, T. (1996). Eleven Principles of Effective Character Education. *Journal of Moral Education* 25(1), 93–100.

¹³⁶ Robb, B. (1998): 5

¹³⁷ Cam, P. (2014). Philosophy for Children, Values Education and the Inquiring Society. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 46(11), 1203-1211: 1208

¹³⁸ Kohlberg, L., & Higgins, A. (1987). *School Democracy and Social Interaction*. In W. M. Kurtines & J. L. Gewirtz (Eds.), *Moral Development through Social Interaction* (pp. 102–128). New York, NY: Wiley.

are more strongly participant-focused and emphasize individual reflection.¹⁴⁰ Facilitators utilizing liberal approaches promote critical thinking and moral reasoning by motivating students to reflect on their values and decide freely which values will bring the most benefit to the wellbeing of themselves and others.¹⁴¹ This individual focus reflects the fact that liberal approaches are founded in pluralism, in which values are believed to be context-dependent.¹⁴² In a pluralist society, individuals need to be able to make choices regarding their values and provide a rationale for them. Thus, instead of facilitators delivering a pre-defined set of desirable values, their role is to promote learners' understanding of values and help them draw connections between those values and their own attitudes and decision making.¹⁴³

As such, this approach conceives of values as beliefs, attitudes, or feelings that an individual has freely chosen and is proud to hold.¹⁴⁴ To develop these values, moral development activities engage learners in reflection time through the presentation of moral dilemmas which "encourage students to think more deeply about decisions and their own moral development."¹⁴⁵ Similarly, values clarification activities demonstrate the variety of value-models through values journals¹⁴⁶ and the development of personal value narratives,¹⁴⁷ among others methods. Cremin argued that such activities are "instrumental in building personalities with flexibility, tolerance, caring, a critical mind and creativity."¹⁴⁸

¹³⁹ Kirschenbaum, H. (1976).

¹⁴⁰ Jones, T. M. (2009).

¹⁴¹ Halstead, J. M., & Taylor, M. J. (2000).

¹⁴² Sutrop, M. (2015): 194

¹⁴³ Haydon, G. (2006). *Values in Education*. London: Continuum: 178.

¹⁴⁴ Sutrop, M. (2015): 194

¹⁴⁵ Moscardo, G., & Murphy, L. (2011): 78

¹⁴⁶ Grundstein-Amado, R. (1995).

¹⁴⁷ Eriksen, M. (2009). Authentic Leadership: Practical Reflexivity, Self-Awareness, and Self-Authorship. *Journal of Management Education*, 33(6), 747–771.

¹⁴⁸ Cremin, P. (1993): 21

The third category of Values Education is the critical approach which includes cultural heritage programs, caring for the community, service-learning,¹⁴⁹ and peace education.¹⁵⁰ These approaches focus on building relationships between learners and the greater community. By engaging with others, especially those who are different, in a positive way, an empathetic character can be enhanced and values such as tolerance and respect become more accessible.¹⁵¹ Critical approaches also tend to view values as character traits or virtues and are founded in a respect for pluralism seeking to demonstrate the variety of possible value-models through social action and community engagement.

The last category as described by Jones is the post-modern approach which includes ethical inquiry, values analysis, and values stimulation.¹⁵² Toomey and Lovat describe the community of inquiry process in which individuals engage in dialogue to develop their understanding of values. This process emphasizes caring, in which each individual is invited to participate and is supported; creativity, in which discussion encourages new ideas; criticalness, in which rationale should be provided for one's positions; and fallibility, in which individuals are willing to be corrected.¹⁵³ This process helps promote critical thinking and encourages openness and respect towards others. Such activities help to produce more caring society members who are tolerant of differences and increase social-cohesion and the welfare of the social group as a whole. They also follow a cognitive approach in which the development of positive personal values also helps individuals develop cognitively into stronger, more critical thinkers.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ Toomey, R., & Lovat, T. (2009).

¹⁵⁰ Cremin, P. (1993).

¹⁵¹ Howard, R. W., et al. (2004).

¹⁵² Jones, T. M. (2009).

¹⁵³ Toomey, R., & Lovat, T. (2009): 224

¹⁵⁴ Sutrop, M. (2015): 194

In all of these approaches, Values Education makes values explicit and utilizes activities that help to transmit desirable values to learners. This is done mostly through processes of critical reflection where students draw connections between their values and personally-held attitudes, decision-making processes, and their own and others' wellbeing. As such, the overall goal of Values Education approaches is to increase overall long term wellbeing of both individual learners and those whose lives they will intersect with. What is most important in these approaches is that learners can realize for themselves what is desirable and undesirable based on their understanding of which values bring benefit to themselves and others and which bring harm.¹⁵⁵

While Values Education has an honorable and positive end-goal, a number of other positive arguments have made it the preferred educational approach to some. Other educational goals can be divided into four categories as defined by the British philosopher, Harry Brighouse. The theory of human autonomy sees education as increasing individuals' personal freedom, options and right to self-determination.¹⁵⁶ Human capital theory sees education as increasing an individual's capacity for economic participation and productivity.¹⁵⁷ In contrast, human development theory perceives education as a means to develop an individual's personality and create the conditions needed for a good life,¹⁵⁸ while the theory of civic education claims that an education is meant to prepare individuals for a social life in which relationships with others are important.¹⁵⁹ Educational activities with these goals can also be experienced outside of the formal classroom, much like Values Education activities.

¹⁵⁵ Robb, B. (1998): 7

¹⁵⁶ Brighouse, H. (2006) *On Education*. London and New York: Routledge: 14

¹⁵⁷ Ibid: 27

¹⁵⁸ Ibid: 42

¹⁵⁹ Ibid: 62

Various education goals have been implemented over time in response to different social needs. For example, the last few decades have seen a strong emphasis on the human capital theory of education in which it is believed that economic growth is the cure to all social ills.¹⁶⁰ While the development of knowledge and skills is vital to values development, this approach tends to dehumanize individuals regarding them more as tools for economic growth rather than social beings. These overall goals are interrelated, with greater economic achievement creating the conditions for an individual to live a good life, an increase in self-determination allowing individuals to choose for themselves what that good life looks like, and the development of positive social skills which allow the individual to live that good life in a society with different people.¹⁶¹

Is Values Education Necessary?

With so many different educational approaches fulfilling needed goals, why is Values Education so necessary? The kind of education emphasized is a reflection of a society's understanding of values. Bertrand Russell stated, "we must have some concept of the kind of person we wish to produce, before we can have any definite opinion as to the education which we consider best."¹⁶² Sutrop argues similarly that if a society desires obedient, hardworking and unquestioning people, then rote methods and authoritarian teachers are justifiable whereas a desire for a participatory democracy would encourage the development of creative and critically thinking people.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ Sutrop, M. (2015): 190

¹⁶¹ Ibid

¹⁶² Russell, B. (1926/1973). *The Aims of Education*. In his *On Education: Especially in Early Childhood*, 28–46. London: Unwin Books: 28

¹⁶³ Sutrop, M. (2015): 192

Today's needs in a globalized world made of pluralistic societies have shifted, highlighting the need for values-based educational experiences for learners. Arweck and Nesbitt have argued that Values Education is the "response to the 'call for values' in a world in which [people] are affected by violence, social problems, and lack of respect for one another and the world around them."¹⁶⁴ Toomey and Lovat agree in that Values Education "has a greater capacity to produce the type of citizenry that can deal effectively with the major global issues of our day."¹⁶⁵ Not only do today's societies need to be made of skillful and hardworking individuals, they also need to emphasize the development of well-adjusted, caring, responsible, and importantly, compassionate individuals.

This notion is reflected in the European Union agreement which outlines eight key competencies for lifelong learning that go beyond the transmission of knowledge and skills. They emphasize flexibility and personal responsibility in coping with today's challenges.¹⁶⁶ As such, individuals are expected to not only be adaptive, but also, "innovative, creative, self-directed, and self-motivated... [with an] ability to think for themselves, take a critical stance, and take responsibility for their learning and their actions."¹⁶⁷ Thus, the EU competencies reflect not only a need to go beyond knowledge and skills towards values, but also promote one's ability to reflect on them and cope with potential value conflicts which are present in today's pluralistic societies. Such development and understanding of values is not present in other educational approaches but is the foundation of and focus of Values Education activities.

¹⁶⁴ Arweck, E., & Nesbitt, E. (2004): 250

¹⁶⁵ Toomey, R., & Lovat, T. (2009): 220

¹⁶⁶ Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 December 2006 on Key Competences for Lifelong Learning. (2006).

¹⁶⁷ Sutrop, M. (2015): 193

Thus, a push towards the development of positive values is needed in order to help individuals cope with today's stresses and global needs. Sagkal et al argues that Values Education programs can help promote interpersonal, intergroup and international peace.¹⁶⁸ In the promotion of peace, such programs need to develop individuals who can cooperate, handle tensions and resolve conflicts especially between individuals who think about and approach values differently.¹⁶⁹ As such, the need for skills such as critical thinking and creativity are important.

Other skills and values are also emphasized for the promotion of peace. One of the most important skills to this regard is empathy, which allows individuals to understand the value of peace and make it an important aspect in their own lives.¹⁷⁰ In his writings on conflict and justice, Deutsch argues that empathy is an individual's emotional response to a situation which allows one to put themselves in another's shoes and imagine how they feel.¹⁷¹ Empathy requires an individual to try to understand the perspectives of another person in order to cope with situations of conflict. These don't have to include violent conflict, but can simply be a conflict of values between two different people or groups within or across societies. Thus, acquiring empathetic concern through Values Education activities is essential to a student's ability to understand others, exhibit pro-social attitudes and behaviors and control those which are socially undesirable, such as aggression.¹⁷² Empathy is more readily accessible for those with whom an individual can identify or recognize as familiar and more difficult to muster for those

¹⁶⁸ Sagkal, A. S., et al (2012). Empathy for Interpersonal Peace: Effects of Peace Education on Empathy Skills. *Educational Sciences: Theory and Practice*, 12(2), 1454-1460: 1459

¹⁶⁹ Sutrop, M. (2015): 193

¹⁷⁰ Sagkal, A. S., et al (2012): 1455

¹⁷¹ Deutsch, M. (2006). *Justice and Conflict*. In M. Deutsch, P. T. Coleman, & E. C. Marcus (Eds.), *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice* (2nd ed., pp. 43-68). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass: 61

¹⁷² Feshbach, N. D., & Feshbach, S. (2009). *Empathy and Education*. In J. Decety, & W. Ickes (Eds.), *The Social Neuroscience of Empathy* (pp. 85-98). Cambridge: The MIT Press.

who are different. In Values Education activities where empathy and related values are reflected upon, these values become more accessible through reflection and practice.

Values Education Successes

In addition to the theoretical arguments for Values Education, a number of studies have demonstrated positive success with related activities. In a study with adolescent boys in Malta, Professor Daniel Spiteri saw success following an interactive Values Education program which decreased negative attitudes towards African migrants in Maltese youth. By discussing positive values with young Maltese boys over time and then creating opportunities for these boys to interact positively with young asylum seekers from the African continent, Spiteri was able to build attitudes of tolerance and empathy in young boys who began to shift from more negative perceptions of the migrants to more positive attitudes. Further, some of the participating Maltese boys even began introducing their new migrant friends to those who had not participated in the Values Education program, thus indicating the potential domino effect such programs may have in influencing large groups of people.

Arweck and Nesbitt conducted a study to examine the application of a Values Education program ('Living Values Program') in a number of British schools. As stated, the aims of the program are to help students reflect on different values and their implications, to deepen students' understanding and responsibility when making personal and social choices, and to encourage students to choose their own values and consider practical methods for developing those values, thus making values a personal journey.¹⁷³ Participating educators reported a number of positive effects including an increase in student confidence and self-esteem and demonstrations of respect and cooperation towards others. The participating students

¹⁷³ Arweck, E., & Nesbitt, E. (2004): 249

themselves reflected positive attitudes towards their experience with Values Education stating that it made them behave well.

Others have experienced positive effects as well. O'Reilly pointed to a great number of educators who experienced a decrease in rudeness, dishonesty, irresponsibility, promiscuity and violence following Values Education programming.¹⁷⁴ Nazareth and Waples experienced similar results.¹⁷⁵ In a primary school study with sixth graders, Values Education programming was successful at raising participating students' empathy levels.¹⁷⁶ Further, the empathy levels of the experiment group were not slightly, but significantly, greater than that of the control group. Further, Values Education has been successful even when the participants are too young to engage in adult-level philosophical discussions about values. In a study with five to six year old participants, it was found that Values Education programming was effective in improving social skills, psycho-social development and social problem-solving skills.¹⁷⁷ Further, these positive effects were still noticeable during a follow-up three months later. The success of this programming was attributed to the teaching of positive social behaviors and the opportunities to apply the learned behaviors. Others suggest that Values Education activities draw success from cognitive processes. Bernard et al demonstrated that offering cognitive support for pro-social values helped to protect against attacks on those values.¹⁷⁸ As the process of values reflection and the emphasis on drawing a link between values and attitudes allows individuals to generate support for those values, perhaps a similar cognitive mechanism is at work in Values Education allowing individuals to develop stronger and more defensible value-models.

¹⁷⁴ O'Reilly, D (1991). *An Initiative to Bring Values Back to the Class*. Philadelphia Inquirer, November 17.

¹⁷⁵ Nazareth, P., & Waples, M. E. (1980): 7-10

¹⁷⁶ Sagkal, A. S., et al (2012).

¹⁷⁷ Dereli-Iman, E. (2014). The Effect of the Values Education Programme on 5.5-6 Year Old Children's Social Development: Social Skills, Psycho-Social Development and Social Problem Solving Skills. *Educational Sciences: Theory & Practice*, 14(1), 262-268.

¹⁷⁸ Bernard, M. M., Maio, G. R., & Olson, J. M. (2003).

Critiques of Values Education

Despite all the positive success, Values Education is not without its critics. Values Educational approaches are mostly secular, with societies as cultures and communities defining the appropriate values. In an analysis of various Values Education approaches, Brady wonders who exactly is determining the desirability of values.¹⁷⁹ Either in absolutist approaches where values are prescribed as desirable or undesirable by figures of authority, or in pluralist approaches where the cultural beliefs and customs of a society shape the way values are discussed, perceived and considered by learners, Values Education has been accused of being culturally confined.¹⁸⁰

Murry has argued that Values Education lacks an objective guiding principle for defining desirable and worthwhile values and virtues but instead assumes those which reach social consensus must be considered appropriate.¹⁸¹ Etherington has argued similarly in that lacking a transcendent and theistic prescription of values, Values Education instead prescribes moral relativism and thus offers little justification for desirable values.¹⁸² As participant-focused reflection makes the individual into the supreme arbiter of values, it is left up to learners to decide what is right and wrong.¹⁸³ Some have argued that Values Education is contradictory in that the individualism which drives it assumes there are objectively right or just values but places the emphasis on the individual to choose those values.¹⁸⁴ Thus,

¹⁷⁹ Brady, L. (2008). Strategies in Values Education: Horse or Cart?. *Australian Journal of Teacher Education*, 33(5), 81-89: 83

¹⁸⁰ Etherington, M. (2013). Values Education: Why the Teaching of Values in Schools is Necessary, But Not Sufficient. *Journal of Research on Christian Education*, 22(2), 189-210: 194

¹⁸¹ Murry, M. (2007). Informally published manuscript. IL: Department of Psychology, University of Illinois.

¹⁸² Etherington, M. (2013): 191

¹⁸³ Nord, W. A. (2010). *Does God Make a Difference? Taking Religion Seriously in our Schools and Universities*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

¹⁸⁴ Etherington, M. (2013): 194

others believe that this issue with the foundation of Values Education has rendered related activities to

being more about efforts at socialization than a matter of critical thinking about morality.¹⁸⁵

However, proponents of Values Education have insisted that personal reflection and individual choice are deeply important to the process of values development. While a theistic or spiritual grounding for values sounds like an asset to values development, societies today are deeply pluralistic with individuals ascribing to different spiritual beliefs making consistent values inculcation based on religion or spirituality unlikely and potentially divisive. For this reason, Robb has argued that such prescribed transmission of values overlooks the important personal journey one benefits from in their own discovery of values.¹⁸⁶ In a pluralistic society, it is essential for individuals from all backgrounds to develop their own empathetic character in order to relate to and live peacefully in diverse communities.

Can Values Education Improve Attitudes towards Immigrants?

One example of the role Values Education can play here is in the positive and successful integration of migrants into their host countries, the topic of this study. As migration into European countries increases, so do anti-immigrant sentiments.¹⁸⁷ Can an emphasis on positive values, or a Values Education, influence one's attitudes towards migrants? Hogg and Vaughn suggest that it can since values are the evaluative dimensions of attitudes and the key issue in the development of prejudicial attitudes or anti-immigration sentiments is that members of one group hold negative evaluations and attitudes towards members of another group.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ Nord, W. A. (2010).

¹⁸⁶ Robb, B. (1998): 5

¹⁸⁷ Davidov, E., et. al.(2014): 264

¹⁸⁸ Hogg, M., & Vaughan, G. (2013): 140

A study by Davidov et al, demonstrated a direct correlation between participants' positive, pro-social values, such as self-transcendence, and an openness to generally allow immigrants into their country and to do so without imposing strict conditions.¹⁸⁹ In contrast, those who scored higher on less pro-social values, such as conservatism including conformity and tradition, exhibited more negative attitudes towards immigration. This suggests that values can contribute to attitudes towards immigration, and perhaps towards migrants themselves, in a meaningful way.

However, it seems to be the development of a particular values-model which will correlate to open and accepting attitudes towards migrants. A study by Sagiv and Schwartz showed that the direct correlation between universalism values (tolerance, understanding, protection of the welfare of others) and a positive attitude towards members of an out-group was highest while values related to conservatism and tradition were the stronger predictor of negative attitudes towards out-group members.¹⁹⁰ Pro-social values such as those within universalism (tolerance, acceptance, etc) consistently relate directly and positively to more open and empathetic attitudes towards the 'other', specifically migrants in these studies. However, individuals who develop values that do not emphasize such pro-social thinking and attitude formation have consistently reflected more negative attitudes towards incoming migrants or immigration as a process.

Overall, Values Education has been deemed a worthwhile approach to education both in and out of the classroom. Today's globalized world is made up of pluralistic societies in which

¹⁸⁹ Davidov, E., et al. (2008). Values and support for immigration. A Cross-Country Comparison. *European Sociological Review*, 24:583–599.

¹⁹⁰ Sagiv, L., & Schwartz, S. H.(1995). Value Priorities and Readiness for Out-Group Social Contact. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69:437–448

various cultures and peoples coexist together and differences are both present and noticeable. While some argue that values should be a one-size-fits-all prescription, others insist that values development is dependent on the personal discovery and exploration of values as a concept and idea. As Values Education focuses on the development of values through individual reflection, the discovery of the relationship between values and attitudes as well as associated behaviors, and the search for positive values which enhance the wellbeing of both the self and others, this approach could be an appropriate response to today's needs. By allowing for the development of individuals' value-models, learners are instilled with tolerance, empathy, creativity and a critical mind. These will be essential for navigating the complex relationships and problems within and across societies.

This study seeks to take this literature and explore the influence of Values Education on Maltese youths' attitudes towards African migrants in Malta. It is possible that a positive experience with Values Education will correlate to a more positive attitude towards African migrants, while a lack of or negative Values Education experience will correlate with more negative attitudes towards this group.

Concluding Remarks

To conclude, this section began with a discussion of values including various types of values, functions and purposes. This study understands values to be abstract guiding principles meant to help shape individuals' goals and attitudes as well as contribute to the development of a moral character. Next, this section defined attitudes as positive or negative evaluations of a mental object, and presented a discussion of the various processes of attitude formation and attitude functions. A synthesis of values and attitudes was then discussed demonstrating the role values play in the formation of attitudes with special emphasis on value activation and

attitude function. Lastly, this section discussed various approaches to Values Education and emphasized that the goal of such activities is to make underlying values explicit and promote those values which increase the wellbeing of oneself and others. The development of pro-social attitudes is shown to be necessary in creating the kinds of individuals who can cope with today's stresses and problems in a globalized and pluralistic world. A focus on tolerant attitudes and an empathetic character are shown to be predictive indicators of individuals' positive attitudes towards migrants in previous studies. This section concluded with a dialogue of Values Education's critics and proponents. Following the review of this literature, this study is now prepared to move forward in exploring the relationship between Values Education and Maltese attitudes towards African migrants in Malta. A foundation in the concept of values, attitudes, and Values Education allows this study to explore such a relationship and seek meaningful conclusions.

Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to present the study-design and the methodology utilized in this study. It is subdivided into a number of sections beginning with a discussion of the study's design and the methodology used. The next section addresses the study participants and why they were chosen, which is followed by a demonstration of the sampling and recruitment methods before giving more attention to the design of the survey instrument. Parts of the survey were pulled from existing, proven tools while others had to be specifically designed for this study. This is discussed in more detail as well allowing for an understanding of how the survey tool measures the variables defined here – namely one's attitudes towards African migrants and one's experience and exposure to Values Education. This section concludes by presenting the scoring method and discussing the various tests that are used to analyze the data generated.

Study Design Foundation

This study explores the relationship between Values Education and Maltese youths' attitudes towards African migrants in Malta. *Does Values Education positively affect this population's attitudes towards such migrants?* A post-positivist worldview forms the foundation of this study which considers results of data analysis to be conjectural.¹⁹¹ Thus, this study does

¹⁹¹ Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research Design*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publishers: 7

not set out to prove a causal relationship between Values Education and such attitudes, but does intend to explore this relationship in order to understand how these variables relate.

Quantitative data analysis tends to be considered the preferred method for testing objective theories regarding the relationship between such variables as these methods provide a statistical measure of how many people within the sample population think or feel in a certain way and how strongly those attitudes are held.¹⁹² Additionally, findings generated from quantitative methods can be generalized to a greater public which would allow any practice or policy implications generated from this study to be relevant and applicable for Malta as a whole. Qualitative methods are generally more appropriate for studies which seek to understand *why* participants think or feel a certain way. As the purpose of this study is to determine the strength of relationship between Values Education and attitudes, a quantitative method is thus most appropriate. The purpose of this study is to generate data regarding this relationship that is generalizable from the sample population to the whole of Maltese youths' in order to further shape the general knowledge of Values Education's impact on the development of such attitudes within this population.

The survey, or questionnaire, provides opportunities to collect rich, quantitative data. As such, it is the best collection method to explore the relationship between Values Education and attitudes in that the numerical and categorical results of surveys can be quantified and used to test various assumptions regarding this relationship. Additionally, survey methods generate a rapid turnaround for data collection and are generally easy for participants' to engage with.

There are two broad categories of survey instruments – those which are completed by the researcher (researcher-completed) and those which are completed by the participant

¹⁹² Ibid, 4

(subject-completed). This study followed the subject-focused instrument style and used a cross-sectional survey design with data collected at a single point in time. The literature review discussed a number of different conceptions of attitudes, including Allport's point that attitudes are a 'state of mental readiness.'¹⁹³ As a mental state, attitudes are necessarily private and not directly measurable by a researcher in the same way that blood pressure or temperature might be. Since the individual holding the attitude is the only one with direct access to it, a study measuring such attitudes must be indirect.¹⁹⁴ For this reason, self-administered questionnaires and surveys including attitude scales fall within the subject-completed instruments.¹⁹⁵ As this study seeks to measure privately-held attitudes and explore a correlation between those attitudes and another variable, one's experience with Values Education, the survey instrument utilized here was therefore self-administered.

Study Participants

As this study aims to determine the correlation between Values Education and Maltese youths' attitudes towards African migrants, it is necessary to have two general populations to compare. The first includes those who have experienced Values Education activities or had a strong overall exposure to Values Education. The second group is comprised of those who have experienced few or no related activities or were not exposed to Values Education at all. It is assumed that those with extensive Values Education will exhibit more positive or tolerant attitudes towards African migrants than those who have experienced little to none.

¹⁹³ Allport, G. W. (1935) *Attitudes*. In *A Handbook of Social Psychology* (pp.798-844). Worcester, MA: Clark University Press: 810

¹⁹⁴ Bordens, K. S., & Horowitz, I. A. (2002). *Social Psychology* (2nd Ed). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates: 158

¹⁹⁵ Biddix, J. P. (2009). Instrument, Validity, Reliability. *Research Rundowns*.

Rather than investigating the entire adult Maltese population, this study narrowed the target population to youth. The European Commission defines youth as individuals between the ages of 15 and 29.¹⁹⁶ However, for the purpose of the study, minors will not be included as their capacity to give appropriate consent for their participation in a study is not yet present. Thus, the population investigated is Maltese youth between the ages of 18 and 29. Other than a specific interest in youth, this population was chosen for a number of important reasons. To begin, contemporary youth are expected to have greater access to modern forms of Values Education. Other educational theories were addressed in the literature review which stated that the Western world has been dominated by the human capital educational theory for the past several decades.¹⁹⁷ Values Education has only recently seen greater focus and so older populations will have had fewer opportunities to experience Values Education in the way this study has conceptualized it. As such, youth, with greater access to such Values Education, are a more appropriate population to engage.

Secondly, the increasing trend of African migrants arriving in Malta is a generally new phenomenon. In the years 2000 and 2001, a total of 81 asylum-seekers arrived in Malta.¹⁹⁸ Following Malta's accession into the European Union in 2004, this number suddenly surged to 1,388 with the micro-state now tied to the EU. As the high arrival rates of these migrants has only recently been observed, older generations of Maltese have experienced this phenomenon for a shorter proportion of their lives than the youths who have lived nearly half of their lives in this period. Thus, the attitudes of this younger population towards African migrants will have been shaped more thoroughly.

¹⁹⁶ Youth in Europe: A Statistical Portrait. (2009).

¹⁹⁷ Sutrop, M. (2015): 190

¹⁹⁸ , C. M. (2013). Researching Migration and Asylum in Malta: A Guide. *The People for Change Foundation: 13*

The overall migration trend is likely to continue to be observed in Malta as maintaining or even increasing in occurrence. Related integration and immigration policies in Malta's future will be shaped by those who are now considered youths whose attitudes towards migrant populations, such as African asylum-seekers, will be strongly influential their policy decisions. As such, exploring youth's attitudes towards this population will generate a deeper knowledge of what is to come for future policies related to migrants and how these will affect the Maltese society as a whole and those vulnerable populations.

Additionally, youth tend to be more open and tolerant than older generations. Schwartz argued that the past several decades have seen an increase in security and prosperity, allowing for greater opportunities for young people to "to indulge themselves, to be more adventuresome, and to choose their own way."¹⁹⁹ As such, younger people tend to give greater priority to values such as hedonism, self-direction, and universalism values such as equality and tolerance which strongly relate to Values Education. With a stronger focus on such values by younger rather than older generations, youth are likelier to be more receptive to the ethos Values Education and its emphasis on tolerance and empathy. However, older generations will not be investigated since this difference value-priorities falls outside the scope of this study.

As youth are both more likely to have experienced Values Education and are generally considered more tolerant and empathetic than other generations, they make a particularly advantageous group to engage. It is possible that the tendency for youth to be more open-minded and tolerant than their older counterparts could be a result of their experience with Values Education whereas generations before have lacked such an emphasis in their educational experiences. If such is the case, then the effect of Values Education may be already be

¹⁹⁹ Schwartz, S. H. (2006): 254

noticeable. This study further investigates this effect by examining a specific example of a potential impact on attitudes. Moreover, if it turns out that the influence of Values Education is less than expected, focusing on such a narrow and appropriate population should make this difference more noticeable. Thus, the youth population provides a potentially magnified look at the correlation between Values Education and attitudes towards African migrants allowing this study to better identify this relationship and generate meaningful data and discussion.

Sampling Methods

This study utilized a combination of sampling methods in order to reach the target population. The majority of quantitative studies rely on random or representative sampling in order to generalize their findings to the larger population.²⁰⁰ However, in many studies, it may not be practical to obtain a truly random sample so researchers may simply ask for convenient volunteers.²⁰¹ This study has used a combination of both random (probability) sampling and convenient (non-probability) sampling in order to reach the necessary population and generate the minimum number of survey responses. The sampling methods utilized were dependent on the specific method of survey distribution.

As is essential in a survey-design, the questionnaire should be equally accessible to all within the sample population. Malta is a nation with two official languages, English and Maltese, with each individual feeling more proficient in one or the other. In order to improve the consistency within participant experience with the survey and allow for a more widespread accessibility to this population, both English and Maltese questionnaires were offered to each. This allowed for every respondent to choose which language they preferred for their

²⁰⁰ Rudestam, K. E., & Newton, R. R. (2007). *Surviving Your Dissertation: A Comprehensive Guide to Content and Process*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications: 107

²⁰¹ Rudestam, K. E., & Newton, R. R. (2007): 91

participation in the study. In order to ensure that the English and Maltese questions were culturally relevant and as equally meaningful between languages in the context of Malta's youth, a professional academic advisor with native speaking ability in both English and Maltese was consulted for a review and translation.

The first method of distributing the survey was through the University of Malta's email registrar. The recruitment post and survey link were sent to the university's registrar's office with permission to be forwarded to the entire student body. As there was no stratification process, the sampling method utilized here was completely random. In other words, each student-participant had the same likelihood of receiving the survey link and no incentives or credit offers were made available to adjust individuals' motivation to participate.

The second distribution method was through social media. Utilizing a variety of open Facebook groups with a higher number of Maltese members, the same recruitment post and survey link were posted for viewing. As those who within the target population but are not members to such groups were not accessible, this sampling method was not random – individuals within the target population did not have an equal chance to participate. As such, this method of distribution utilized a convenience sampling method which is present when a researcher reaches out to those with whom they have easier access, despite the fact that such population will not be representative.²⁰²

The third method of distribution also utilized a convenience sample. Specific Maltese contacts who fit within the target demographic were directly contacted to facilitate their participation in the study. These included friends and colleagues who were easily accessible, thus convenient. However, the engagement with this group also reflected a snowball sample.

²⁰² Vogt, W. P. (2005). Convenience Sample. In *Dictionary of Statistics & Methodology*. (3rd ed., pp. 63-64). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc

The snowball sampling method consists of other individuals identifying and recommending additional relevant participants.²⁰³ In this study, those who were directly contacted to participate in the survey also sent the survey information and website link to others they knew who fit the age parameters of the study and encouraged them to participate and submit their own responses. The recruitment post distributed to individuals to facilitate their participation is available in Appendix 2.

Locating Participants

The survey was hosted on an existing commercial website called SurveyMonkey where researchers can create and customize their own surveys quickly and generate a stand-alone website link for easy dissemination.²⁰⁴ However, survey responses were dependent on participants self-administering the questionnaire following a prompt by email or Facebook. There are advantages and disadvantages to generating survey responses based on participants' willingness to access the survey tool online and submit it themselves. One obvious disadvantage is that it limits the sample to those who have internet access and are technologically savvy enough to navigate and submit an electronic questionnaire.²⁰⁵ However, a recent study carried out in Malta confirmed that over 80% of Maltese household have consistent access to the internet²⁰⁶ with youth claiming the highest percentage of internet use and 'e-skills'.²⁰⁷ This indicates that a large portion of the target demographic is accessible online and has the technological skills to successfully participate in the survey.

²⁰³ Rudestam, K. E., & Newton, R. R. (2007):91

²⁰⁴ Creswell, J. W. (2009): 149

²⁰⁵ Rudestam, K. E., & Newton, R. R. (2007): 92

²⁰⁶ Debattista, M. (2014). "Many Maltese can't live without internet, surveys confirm." *Times of Malta*.

²⁰⁷ "80% of Maltese households have internet access, 73% of adults use internet." (2015). *The Independent*.

However, this survey design also has its advantages. By carrying out an online-survey based on volunteer participants, this study was able to reach a geographically diverse population which would not have been feasible in traditional data collection methods. The survey's website link was available to participants all over the country regardless of their geographic location, thus making the submission of a questionnaire more convenient as respondents could choose when to participate and do so from the comfort of their own homes. By allowing for such diversity, the sample of respondents becomes more representative of the overall population of Maltese youths.

Additionally, this method of data collection allowed for a greater protection of respondents' identities. Rather than keeping responses confidential with participant identities known to the researcher, the online survey provided a further defense of identity by keeping respondents completely anonymous. Participants were never prompted to identify themselves past a few socio-demographic characteristics which did not risk their identity.

Providing such anonymity in a collection method can be beneficial in a number of ways. First, it has been shown that participants trust and appreciate the anonymity provided in online collection methods over in-person dealings with the researcher.²⁰⁸ As such, it is suggested that anonymous surveys may increase the validity of participants' answers, especially in regards to attitude and opinion questions. When participants believe a collection method personally identifies them, they may feel an extra pressure to answer in socially desirable ways, whether or not those answers represent their actual opinions, in order to present themselves in the best possible manner.²⁰⁹ Knowing their responses are anonymous removes that pressure and allows

²⁰⁸ Rudestam, K. E., & Newton, R. R. (2007): 92

²⁰⁹ Best, S. J., & Krueger, B. S. (2008). *Internet Survey Design*. In Fielding, N., Lee, R. M., & Blank, G. (Eds.) *The SAGE Handbook of Online Research Methods* (pp. 217-236). London: Sage Publications: 218.

participants to answer in a way that more appropriately and honestly reflects their own attitudes.

Secondly, anonymous collection methods may also increase participation. For a number of potential respondents, knowing the researcher will have access to their personal identity in relation to their answers may discourage their participation resulting in a low response rate.²¹⁰ In an article demonstrating the strategies utilized successfully by researchers to achieve higher response rates for online surveys, Quinn states that assuring the anonymity of respondents is important.²¹¹ In fact, in a study involving college students in similar age to the target demographic of this study, Dommeyer et al found that anonymity was a concern for the student population.²¹² They felt the appropriate way to address this potential obstacle was to ensure anonymity in their collection method.

The assurance of anonymity in this study on Maltese youths' attitudes towards African migrants has proven successful in generating a sufficient response rate. This study calculates the necessary sample size using the central limit theorem first conceived of by Abraham de Moivre and further developed by Pierre-Simon Laplace. The devised formula is used by researchers to determine how statistically confident they can be in their assumption that the results from their study's sample population can be generalized to a larger population.²¹³ This formula can be viewed in Appendix 3. The larger the sample size in proportion to the size of the entire population, the more confident a researcher can be in generalizing to that larger population.

²¹⁰ Ibid

²¹¹ Quinn, D. (2002). *Improving Online Response Rates*.

²¹² Dommeyer, C.J., Baum, P., and Hanna, R.W. (2002). College Students' Attitudes toward Methods of Collecting Teaching Evaluation: In-Class Versus Online. *Journal of Education for Business* 78(2): 11–15.

²¹³ Wilcox, R. R. (2001). *Fundamentals of Modern Statistical Methods: Substantially Improving Power and Accuracy*. New York, NY: Springer-Verlag, Inc: 38

The calculation includes a confidence interval (also called the margin of error) which identifies a possible range of answers both above and below the received results that could be expected if the entire population was investigated. This is usually displayed as '+/- X%' in which 'X' represents the chosen margin of error. A generally acceptable confidence interval is between 4% and 10%.²¹⁴ The formula also includes a confidence level which identifies how often the population as a whole would answer within the confidence interval.²¹⁵ Common confidence levels used by researchers are 90%, 95%, and 99%.²¹⁶ These two variables along with the total population are used to determine how many survey responses a study should receive in order to reach an acceptable level of statistical confidence.

The required sample size for this study was calculated using the population statistics from the most recently published demographic review by the Maltese government. According to the report, the population count of Maltese youths between 18 and 29 years of age was 66,028 as of December 31, 2012.²¹⁷ Considering the short time this study was carried out, a confidence level of 90% with a 10% confidence interval was chosen. Using these figures, the necessary sample size was calculated to be 68 completed responses. This study received a total of 127 responses. Of those, 69 responses were completed by participants within the target age range (44 were left incomplete and 14 were completed by individuals outside of the target age range). Thus, the study achieved the necessary number of responses to generate an acceptable level of statistical confidence. In generalizing from the sample population to the greater Maltese youth population, the results of this study will therefore be reliable within +/- 10% at the 90% confidence level, an acceptable level of external validity.

²¹⁴ DataStar. (2008). *What Every Researcher Should Know about Statistical Significance*.

²¹⁵ Ibid, 39

²¹⁶ SurveyMonkey. (2015). *Sample Size Calculator*.

²¹⁷ National Statistics Office, Malta. (2015). *Demographic Review: 2005-2012*: 172

The survey was built and hosted on SurveyMonkey which generated a simple web-link for users to access the instrument. As mentioned earlier, participants were recruited through Facebook and the University of Malta's email-database in which posts and emails displayed the same recruitment message. Participants were given an option to proceed with the survey in English or in Maltese, allowing individuals to participate in the language they were most comfortable with. The 'welcome page' of the survey introduced the researcher, discussed the purpose of the study and the variables to be explored, and stressed that participation was both anonymous and completely voluntary. As a self-administered instrument completed by youths, participation required no specific training, only the technological-savvy for participants to check their answers where appropriate.

The Survey Instrument

This study utilized a cross-sectional, self-administered survey tool to collect data. The survey instrument was made up of three sections: (1) socio-demographic characteristics; (2) self-assessment of one's experience with Values Education; and (3) attitudes towards African migrants in Malta. The various sections were designed and structured differently, and so will be discussed separately.

The first section addressed the socio-demographic characteristics of the participants. Numerous previous studies have sought to explain negative attitudes towards migrants by investigating various socio-demographic factors such as age, education level, employment status, et cetera. This study includes a short list of such factors as independent variables to compare the impact these factors are having on participants' attitudes towards African migrants with the impact made by their experience with Values Education. This allows the study to

determine which factors are exhibiting the strongest influence on Maltese youths' attitudes towards this population.

As the potential list for such factors is exhaustive, this study included only those which have been previously shown to be particularly influential in shaping these attitudes in Europe. In analyzing a variety of determinants of such attitudes, it has been shown that both economic and social concerns exist with respondents fearing that immigrants will not only negatively affect local job security, but will also "undermine the traditional language, religion, political power, or way of life of the native population."²¹⁸

Economic concerns include the fear that migrants will take jobs from native workers and lower wages. One study demonstrated that poorer or unemployed natives are more likely to hold such fears.²¹⁹ As such, the survey asked participants to note their employment status. Those choosing 'not employed' or 'employed seasonally' may be more susceptible to such economic fears than those who demonstrate a higher job security by choosing 'employed part/full-time.'

Other studies have shown a higher education may negate economic fears and allow for more positive attitudes towards migrants.²²⁰ Education as a determinant of such attitudes is also demonstrated by Day²²¹ and Espenshade and Calhoun.²²² Aside from participants' experience with Values Education, the survey asked individuals to note their highest level of completed education. Based on these previous studies, it is expected that those with a higher

²¹⁸ Card, D., Dustmann, C., & Preston, I. (2005). Understanding Attitudes to Immigration: The migration and minority module of the first European Social Survey. *Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration*: 5

²¹⁹ Simon, R. J. (1987). Immigration and American Attitudes. *Public Opinion* 10: 47-50.

²²⁰ Paas, T., & Halapuu, V. (2012). Attitudes towards Immigrants and the Integration of Ethnically Diverse Societies. *Eastern Journal of European Studies*, 3(2), 161-176.

²²¹ Day, C. L. (1990). Ethnocentrism, Economic Competition, and Attitudes toward US Immigration Policy. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 5-7.

²²² Espenshade, T. J., & Calhoun, C. A. (1993). An Analysis of Public Opinion toward Undocumented Immigration. *Population Research and Policy Review*, 12(3), 189-224.

level of completed education will exhibit more tolerant and positive attitudes towards African migrants.

Additionally, other studies have explored contact-theory, demonstrating that negative attitudes towards migrants lessens as locals' contact with migrants increases.²²³ For this reason, the survey specifically asks participants to indicate the frequency with which they have experienced contact with African migrants in Malta and whether that contact has been positive or negative.

The second section of the survey instrument measures participants' attitudes towards African migrants in Malta, which are the dependent variables for this study. The attitude questions utilized here are based on those first devised by the European Social Survey (ESS), "an academically-driven social survey designed to chart and explain the interaction between Europe's changing institutions and the attitudes, beliefs and behavior patterns of its diverse populations."²²⁴ The social survey questions were designed to address a multi-cultural, European population. As Malta is an EU member state, the questions pulled from the social survey are deemed to be culturally appropriate for the target Maltese population. In addition, ESS successfully studied participants across a variety of age groups, including youths from 18 to 29 years, proving the questions are also appropriate for the Maltese youths involved in the present study. As such, these questions are assumed to be reliable, valid, and appropriate for this study. The specific attitude questions will be discussed in more detail below.

However, as Malta was not a participant in the ESS, this study must further prove these questions to be valid in this context. The content validity of the attitude questions is determined

²²³ Spiteri, D. (2013). Can My Perceptions of the 'Other' Change? Challenging Prejudices against Migrants Amongst Adolescent Boys in a School for Low Achievers in Malta. *Research in Education*, 89(1), 41-60.

²²⁴ Demidova, O., & Paas, T. (2013): 5

here for the Maltese population by subjecting the results to the *Cronbach's Alpha* test. The *Cronbach's Alpha* is the most common test used to assess the internal consistency between a number of items (in this case, the attitude questions) to measure a latent trait.²²⁵ It is scored between [0] and [1] and any value greater than [0.7] indicates a satisfactory internal consistency. In this study, all inter-item correlations are positive. Moreover, the *Cronbach's Alpha* score here [0.913] far exceeds the [0.7] threshold value indicating that the individual attitudes have internal consistency and so can be deemed appropriate to measure Maltese youths' attitudes towards African migrants in Malta.

Based on the attitude questions of the ESS, this study has chosen three categories of attitudes to measure. These are the perceived impacts African migrants are making on the Maltese economy, cultural life, and Malta as a living place, with each category presenting two questions. These questions are based on a Likert-inspired five-point scale. The traditional Likert design is a psychometric scale offering respondents five answer options regarding their agreement with a specific statement ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree and including a neutral middle choice.²²⁶ However, this style received criticism due to respondents' tendencies to simply agree with the statement – this is known as the acquiescent response bias. This bias demonstrates the tendency for survey participants to simply answer agreeably to Likert style statement questions, whether or not those answers reflect their true attitudes.²²⁷ In such a case, results cannot be considered valid.

Survey writers have sought to combat this bias in a number of ways. One good practice is to require participants to answer various questions in opposite ways in order to demonstrate

²²⁵ Field, A. P. (2005). *Discovering Statistics Using SPSS* (2nd Ed.). London: Sage.

²²⁶ Hogg, M., & Vaughan, G. (2013): 162

²²⁷ Vogt, W. P. (2005). Acquiescent Response Style. In *Dictionary of Statistics & Methodology*. (3rd ed., pp. 4-5). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.

the consistency of their answers. For example, a survey should ask for a yes or no response to opinion statements such as 'women should get equal pay' and 'women should not get equal pay'.²²⁸ However, this practice tends to make questionnaires lengthy which can increase the drop-out rate of participants and lower the total response rate.

Others have sought to address this consequence while maintaining consistent and reliable answers by reformatting the statement question itself. The Modern Racism Scale was designed to measure racism against African Americans in the US in the 1960's. Likert-style statement questions such as "If only Blacks would try harder, they could be just as well off as Whites,"²²⁹ were criticized for their susceptibility to the acquiescent response bias in which participants sought to present themselves as politically correct. To address this tendency, the Symbolic Racism Scale was devised in which the Likert-style statement questions were reformatted to include both positive and negative attitude positions.²³⁰ The European Social Survey also followed this format by making the statement questions neutral and the answer choices a range from positive to negative options.²³¹

This study has also followed suit by formatting attitude questions neutrally and presenting a range of attitude answers from positive to negative. However, attitude questions here present a 7-point Likert style design allowing participants' answers to be more nuanced. For example, a question regarding attitudes towards African migrants and economy is: 'Do African migrants have a positive or negative effect on the Maltese economy?' The 7-point answer scale is then reflected as: Very Negative, Negative, Slightly Negative, No Effect, Slightly

²²⁸ Ibid

²²⁹ Henry, P. J. (2010). Modern Racism. In Levine, J. & Hogg, M. (Eds) *The Encyclopedia of Group Processes and Intergroup Relations* (pp. 575-577). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications: 576

²³⁰ Henry, P. J., & Sears, D. O. (2002). The Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale. *Political Psychology*, 23(2), 253-283.

²³¹ Demidova, O., & Paas, T. (2013).

Positive, Positive, and Very Positive. Following the theoretical foundations of the revised Symbolic Racism Scale, this style of question feels impersonal and is less susceptible to the acquiescent response bias. Without the pressure for political correctness and along with the more subtle question formatting, results are more likely to be reflective of participants' actual attitudes and opinions, thus this survey section is more likely to solicit honest answers. With a strong *Cronbach's Alpha* score and a more appropriate question format, attitude results generated here are also argued to be valid and reliable.

The third section of the survey instrument assessed the participants' level of experience with Values Education. As an existing instrument to measure this did not previously exist, this section had to be designed for this study. To begin, three categories of items were distinguished to determine participants' exposure to and experience with Values Education. The first is quantity and determines how often participants experienced Values Education activities with options ranging along a frequency scale from 'very often' to 'never'. In addition, questions identified where such activities were experienced – in school, at home, through extra-curricular activities. The literature review demonstrated that Values Education is not something that occurs only in the classroom as a structured course of study, but rather is a pedagogy of teaching and learning that can be experienced anywhere. As such, this study determined how often Values Education is being experienced in various areas of life and to what extent these different areas influence one's attitudes. It is assumed that those with more frequent Values Education experience will respond with more tolerant attitudes in the survey.

The second category of Values Education experience is quality. Such Likert-style questions identify how positive or negative participants' experiences with Values Education activities have been and to what extent participants identify these activities as useful in their

own personal and social lives. Varying assessments of participant experiences here may affect the impact Values Education has had on individuals' tendency to express tolerant attitudes. For example, those with a poor outlook on Values Education who indicate that related activities have been useless or negatively experienced may be less likely to have developed the tolerant and empathetic character stressed in such activities. As such, these individuals may reflect more negative or less tolerant attitudes towards migrants.

The third and final category of Values Education assessment is the content. Here, a number of 'checkbox' style questions determined what concepts, values, or skills participants have discussed or engaged with in Values Education activities. Examples of values include tolerance, empathy, fairness, and caring alongside concepts such as human rights, discrimination, and racism. Additionally, Values Education stresses skills-development alongside the engagement with different positive social values. For example, the literature review demonstrates how often Values Education emphasizes critical-thinking. Skills such as critical-thinking, problem-solving, and relationship-building are also addressed. The data analysis will demonstrate which of these values and skills more strongly correlate to specific attitudes towards African migrants. Additionally, it is assumed that those who have experienced a greater number of these concepts, values, and skills will exhibit more positive attitudes.

Without use in previous studies or pilot testing, this section needed to be thoughtfully considered to determine its appropriateness and clarity in regards to the Maltese youth population. To do so, this section was sent on to the Maltese academic advisor supervising this study in order to ensure that the wording would make sense to a Maltese audience and the section categories and subsequent questions had logical, or face validity. Face validity is the degree to which a number of items appear to be clearly measuring that which they seek to

measure.²³² While the attitudes section was considered internally valid and consistent following its previous testing in this and other studies, the Values Education section first had to rely on face validity as it lacked previous or pilot testing. The short time-span for this study prevented any thorough pilot testing and so face validity was accepted.

However, it was necessary to prove further validity after the data collection period. The questions from the Values Education section were tested for internal validity using the *Cronbach's Alpha* test. The *Cronbach's Alpha* was applied first to question categories (e.g. all questions regarding 'quantity') and then to the Values Education section as a whole. The quantity section received a score of [0.734], a satisfactory score for internal validity. The quality section received a score of [0.795], also indicating a satisfactory level of validity. The content section received a score of [0.951] indicating a strong internal validity. As a whole, the Values Education section scored at [0.869]. As such, the Values Education section demonstrated both an initial face validity as well as a strong overall content validity.

Both the English and Maltese survey questionnaires are available in Appendix 4, 5.

Data Scoring and the Creation of New Variables

This survey instrument generated a large amount of rich data regarding participants' socio-demographic characteristics, their attitudes towards African migrants, and their experience with Values Education. As such, this study utilized a variety of data scoring methods to generate meaningful results. Each section is scored slightly differently. The first section assessing socio-demographic characteristics scored education and employment level on scales from [1] to [4] with a score of [1] indicating the lowest level of education or employment and a score of [4] indicating the highest. The attitudes section was scored on a scale from 1 to 7 with a

²³² Bornstein, R. (2004). *Face Validity*. In Lewis-Beck, M. S., Bryman, A., & Liao, T. F. (Eds.), *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods*. (pp. 368-369). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc

score of [1] indicating a very negative attitude and a score of [7] indicating a very positive attitude. The exception is the sixth attitude question regarding the perceived impacts African migrants are making on crime and is scored from [1] to [4] with [1] to [3] indicating strengths of negative responses and [4] indicating a neutral, albeit positive answer.

The Values Education section is scored in a combination of methods. Participants' experience with Values Education is scored between [1] and [5] with a lower score indicating less frequent experiences and a higher score indicating very frequent experiences. Responses indicating participants' evaluation of their Values Education experiences and how useful they found Values Education to be in their personal and social lives is scored from [1] to [7] with higher scores indicating more positive responses. Questions assessing the various concepts, values and skills experienced are scored either a [1] for 'experienced' or a [2] for 'not experienced.'

A few new variables are generated by combining values in the existing data for analysis purposes. The *Pearson Correlation* is used to measure the strength of relationships between two or more quantitative variables. The *r* value indicates how strong the relationship is and ranges from [-1] to [+1] indicating indirect and direct relationships, respectively. The further from [0] the *r* value, the stronger the relationship. The standard of measure dictates that a moderate relationship is indicated by scores above [0.3] +/-0 and anything above [0.5] +/-0 indicates a strong relationship.²³³ The *P* value indicates how statistically significant the relationship is by calculating how often a relationship will be discovered by coincidence. This value is measured between [0.0] and [1.0] with the standard threshold for significance being those which score

²³³ Bivariate Pearson Correlation. (2015). *George Mason University*.

below [0.05]. This means that 5 percent of cases or less will indicate a false-positive relationship out of statistical coincidence.

This *Pearson Correlation* test was used to evaluate the correlation between participants' attitude scores in each of the six questions. This test evaluates every possible combination of correlations between any two values, thus a total of 30 *r* values were generated. These *r* values ranged from [0.52] and [0.84] indicating a strong correlation between all six values. Moreover, the *P* value was [0.00] for all combinations indicating the correlation between the six variables is statistically significant.

To minimize the number of coincidental relationships being discovered in the data, it is necessary to limit the number of tests the data is subjected to. For example, with the standard *P* value of less than [0.05], it is possible for the data to express false positive correlations. As participants' attitude scores are strongly correlated, these variables can be combined for further tests. This will limit the number of individual tests run thus minimizing the demonstration of false positive relationships.

Rather than using each attitude score on its own and running too many tests, a new variable was created to reflect an overall average attitude score to be used for analysis. Five of the six attitude questions are scored on a scale from [1] to [7] (negative to positive) with anything greater than or equal to [4] considered positive. However, the sixth question regarding the impact African migrants are having on crime is scored from [1] to [4] with answers between [1] and [3] indicating negative ranges and [4] indicating a neutral, albeit positive score. In order to account for this difference in scale, answers to the crime question indicating *no effect* [4]

were recalibrated based on the average of the positive scores from [4] to [5.5].²³⁴ From these attitude scores, the average attitude score was calculated for each participant with a possible range of [1] to [6.75].²³⁵

Additionally, the *Pearson Correlation* test was used to evaluate the correlation between participants' ratings of their overall experience with Values Education and how useful they found those experiences to be in their personal and social lives. When calculated, the *r* value [0.66] exceeded the standard for a strong relationship. Moreover, the *P* value [0.00] indicated that this relationship is statistically significant. Thus, these two variables correlate strongly. To continue minimizing the possibilities for the data to indicate false positive relationships, these two variables were combined into an 'average evaluation of Values Education' value with scores ranging from [1] to [7] with higher scores indicating more positive evaluations.

Statistical Analysis Tests

The frequency of Values Education experience was tested against the average attitude scores by comparing their means. The *compare means* test "calculates subgroup means and other descriptive statistics for dependent variables within categories of one or more independent variables."²³⁶ Mean scores here are considered significantly different if they vary by at least 0.6 points. By comparing the mean attitude scores of participants based on their frequency of Values Education experience, this study is looking to determine a pattern of increasing mean scores as frequency increases.

²³⁴ This value was calculated by taking the average of the neutral value (no effect-4) and the positive values (slightly positive-5, positive-6, very positive-7).

²³⁵ The highest possible average attitude score is a [6.75] due to the scaling difference between the six variables.

²³⁶ Leech, N., Barrett, K. C., & Morgan, G. A. (2011). *IBM SPSS for Intermediate Statistics: Use and Interpretation, 4th Edition*. New York, NY: Routledge: 215

Participants' overall evaluation of their Values Education experience is also tested against their average attitude scores by comparing their means. However, this test generally is more reliable with a categorical independent variable. The evaluation variable created by averaging participants' responses for the usefulness and degree of positive or negative experience with Values Education is a scale value. As such, a new variable was created in which evaluation scores between [1.0] and [3.9] are considered negative, [4] is neutral, and [4.1] to [7.0] is positive. Again, this study is looking to determine a pattern of increasing means scores as the evaluation increases.

A number of *multiple regression* tests were run to further understand the relationship between the socio-demographic factors and Values Education variables with participants' average attitude scores. A *multiple regression* is used to explore the relationship between several independent variables and a single scaled dependent variable in depth. The results of this test indicate how much the independent variables contribute to the difference in dependent variable score both individually and as a whole. This test was used to explore the impacts on the average attitudes made by the various factors found to be of moderate or strong correlation with statistically significant relationships to the attitudes.

A *multiple regression* generates quite a few scores with valuable information. The *R* value is the multiple correlation coefficient scored between [0] and [1] with a score closer to [1] indicating a stronger measure of prediction between the independent and dependent variables.²³⁷ The adjusted R^2 , the coefficient of determination, is scored between [0] and [100] and indicates the percentage of variance in the dependent explained by the collective impacts of the independent variables in the regression. For example, an adjusted R^2 score here of [0.72]

²³⁷ Multiple Regression Analysis using SPSS Statistics. (2013). *Laerd Statistics*.

would mean that 72 percent of the variance in the attitude scores is explained by the effect of the various independent variables. The standardized *beta* coefficient indicates what degree of change in the independent variable can be expected with a single unit increase in the dependent variables (the predictors). This allows us to see which independent variable is having the strongest impact on the attitude scores. Lastly, the *P* value indicates how significant the relationship is between each independent variable and the dependent variable.

Lastly, the *Chi-Square* test was run to further examine the relationship between the various independent variables and the attitude scores. This results in a cross-tabulation grid which examines the observed and expected percentage frequencies of response rates per possible response combinations to demonstrate whether a statistically significant relationship exists between two categorical variables.²³⁸ However, this test is generally more reliable for categorical data rather than continuous data. As the average attitudes score is scored on a continuous scale, a new categorical variable needed to be generated. The average attitude score ranging from [1.0] to [6.75], was used to generate a dichotomous, categorical variable in which those with scores greater than or equal to [4.0], the neutral response, were considered positive,²³⁹ while those with scores from [1] to [3.9] were considered negative. This new categorical, dichotomous attitude variable was dependent for *Chi-Square* tests examining the relationship between attitudes and frequencies, locations, and educational levels of Values Education.

As with previous tests, the *Chi-Square* generates a *P* value indicating how statistically a correlation is between two variables. Additionally, this test generates a *Cramer's V* coefficient which indicates how strong a relationship is between variables. This value ranges from [0]

²³⁸ Leech, N. et al. (2011). *IBM SPSS for Intermediate Statistics: Use and Interpretation, 4th Edition*. New York, NY: Routledge: 207

²³⁹ Attitude responses of 'no effect' or 'neutral' were coded as positive responses as they lacked a negative evaluation of African migrants' impacts.

indicating a very weak relationship to [1] indicating a very strong one. Scores around [0.3] demonstrate a moderate strength of correlation while those above [0.7] are considered strong.

Limitations of the Research

Although this study was thoughtfully designed, it is not without its limitations. First, this study relies heavily on non-probability and convenience sampling techniques with only one survey distribution method utilizing a random sampling technique. As noted earlier, it may not always be practical or possible to achieve a truly random sample so researchers may recruit volunteers out of convenience. In this study, it was not possible to obtain a comprehensive list of all Maltese youths (more than 66,000 individuals) limiting the ability of this research design to utilize a total probability sampling technique.

A truly random sample would have been ideal as it allows for the results of such a study to be more appropriately generalized to the larger demographic population. The ability to make such generalizations is an important component to quantitative research. As such, the use of convenience sampling techniques in this study is a clear limitation. To overcome this limitation in future studies, researchers must be able to obtain access to a comprehensive list of all Maltese youths. Perhaps working in partnership with the Maltese government would allow for such necessary access.

A second limitation is found within the survey instrument itself. The section addressing participants' experience with Values Education begins with a concise definition of this study's understanding of the concept. Participants' engagement with this section depends almost entirely on their understanding of Values Education and their ability to reflect on the concept and recognize their own experiences with such activities. In order to do so, it was necessary for

participants to give thoughtful attention to the given definition and for all to have a similar understanding of the concept.

However, each individual has their own perspectives and experiences which may influence their understanding of Values Education yielding potentially different understandings of the concept. Where one individual may perceive Values Education in one way and connect it to a specific classroom activity, their peer may develop an alternative understanding and assume that classroom activity was unrelated. This could potentially contribute to inconsistent reporting of Values Education experiences and limit the reliability of the data. Unfortunately, such a limitation was unavoidable for this study. As such, it is important to be aware of this limitation and understand how it may affect the results and findings presented in the following sections.

In order to improve future studies in an effort to overcome this limitation, a more developed explanation of Values Education may be presented. Rather than a short definition, perhaps a longer and more detailed description of the concept including various examples of Values Education activities could be presented. However, just as it was in this study it will be important for such a definition to be long enough to allow participants to develop an understanding of the concept but short enough to limit the drop-out rate of participation. If the effort needed for voluntary participation is too high (e.g. spending more than fifteen minutes to fill out a survey) the number of completed and submitted surveys may be too low to generate meaningful data and interpretations.

While other limitations may be present, the two discussed here have the strongest potential to affect the dataset and the resulting findings. Keeping these in mind, this study was

thoughtfully designed to maximize the potential for the survey to generate meaningful data and for the conclusions to be appropriately interpreted and applied to the greater population.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter presented the study design and methodology used here. Divided into a number of sections, it outlined the nature of the study, described the target population and the rationale for choosing such, demonstrated the sampling and recruitment methods used to reach the target population, and gave much attention to the survey instrument itself. Parts of the instrument, specifically the attitudes section, were pulled from existing tools which have previously been successful in measuring such items and have proven to be reliable and valid. However, the Values Education measurements were not previously utilized in other studies, and thus had to be designed specifically for this study. This chapter discussed the face-validity and data-driven statistical validity for this tool and has argued that it is a reliable and valid tool to measure both attitudes towards African migrants as well as participants' experience with Values Education. This section concludes with a discussion of the various tests and measures the data was exposed to in order to generate meaningful results and discussion. The next chapters will present and analyze the data and offer a discussion of the results.

Data Findings

The purpose of this quantitative study is to explore the relationship between Values Education and Maltese youths' attitudes towards African migrants in Malta. Exploratory data analysis was performed utilizing a number of tests and factors to analyze the relationship between these variables from multiple angles. In determining the significance and strength of the relationship between attitudes and the various Values Education variables, the *Cramer's V* and *P* value coefficients were utilized. *Cramer's V* demonstrates the strength of correlation between two variables and is scored from [0] indicating a weak relationship to [1] indicating a stronger one. Scores above [0.3] demonstrate a moderate relationship while those above [0.5] are considered strong. The *P* value scored between [0] and [1] indicates the statistical significance of a discovered relationship – in other words, how likely it is that such a correlation was found by coincidence. Scores below [0.05] are considered significant. The use of multiple kinds of analytical tests and scoring values generated a better overall and multi-faceted picture of this relationship and allowed for the discovery of a number of useful points of interpretation.

This chapter presents the findings of this study and is subdivided into sections based on the specific questions and assumptions addressed. The first section presents the frequency of responses to the various questions and sections of the survey including socio-demographic characteristics, experience with Values Education, and average attitude scores. The second

section then addresses the main research question by exploring the correlation between participants' frequency of experience with Values Education and their average attitude scores.

To further develop our understanding of this relationship, the next section addresses the correlation between participants' overall evaluations of their experiences with Values Education and their attitudes. The following two sections explore the impacts of Values Education in different locations and at different educational levels to determine whether these differ. The next section explores the correlation between specific values concepts and the average attitude scores while assessing whether a variation in correlation exists between these items experienced in school and outside of school.

The next section addresses possible mitigating factors by exploring the relationships between different socio-demographic characteristics and attitude scores. Finally, the section ends with an analysis of the combined impacts of those factors and items determined to be moderately or strongly correlated with the attitude scores and of particular statistical significance.

Response Frequencies

The first survey section asked participants to indicate their various socio-demographic characteristics. In response to gender, 28% of respondents were *male* and 72% were *female*. In indicating their highest level of completed education, 6% completed *secondary* school, 46% completed *post-secondary*, 28% hold a *bachelors* degree, and 20% hold a *graduate* degree. Thus, just under half of respondents indicated university experience (48%). Employment rates varied with the majority of respondents maintaining *full-time* employment at 43% while 23% were *unemployed*, 22% employed *part-time*, and 12% employed *seasonally*. While the results were not stratified to create a more evenly divided sample population in terms of gender, the

variations between other factors were fairly even creating a more representative sample of the greater population of Maltese youths.

Survey respondents were also asked to indicate their frequency of personal interaction with African migrants. The majority at 45% indicated they *rarely* had contact, 19% had contact *sometimes*, 15% had contact *often*, 14% *very often*, and finally 7% indicated they *never* experienced contact with African migrants. Those who indicated some contact were asked to evaluate how positive or negative their experience with African migrants has been. The majority at 31% indicated *neutral* experiences, 2% had *very negative* experiences, 14 % had *negative*, 5% had *slightly negative*, 13% had *slightly positive*, 23% had *positive* experiences, 11% had *very positive*, and 1% indicated they *didn't know*. Thus, just under half of respondents who indicated they had contact with African migrants said that experience was *positive* at 47% while only 21% indicated *negative* experiences.

The second section of the survey asked respondents to indicate their experience with Values Education. When asked how frequently they had experienced Values Education activities, the majority of participants at 38% said *often*, 36% said *sometimes*, 10% said *very often*, 10% said *rarely*, 4% indicated they had *never* experienced such activities and 2% was *unsure*. Thus, nearly all of the respondents indicated some degree of experience with Values Education.

However, participants' experience with various concepts and values stressed in traditional Values Education activities varied. Of the concepts and values experienced through Values Education activities within a classroom setting, 19% had experience with only a *few* of those listed in the survey, 29% had experience discussing *half*, 25% had experience with *most* of the concepts, and 27% had experience with nearly *all* of the concepts. Thus, more than half of

participants at 59% had at least a moderate experience with the concepts and values discussed in the school setting.

This study focuses more specifically on the abstract values of *tolerance* and *empathy* and the application of those values in the concepts of *racism* and *discrimination*. As such, the frequencies of responses regarding these items were also investigated. Regarding *tolerance*, 70% of participants indicated experience discussing this value in school while 30% did not. *Empathy* was experienced less often with only 41% indicating experience with the value and the majority at 59% indicating they did not experience it. Concepts such as *discrimination* and *racism* which apply these values were more successfully experienced with 61% indicating experience discussing *discrimination* and 62% indicating experience discussing *racism*.

However, Values Education activities often take place outside of the classroom as well. As such, the frequencies of experience with various concepts and values discussed beyond school were also investigated. Of the concepts and values experienced through Values Education activities beyond the classroom, 15% had experience with only a *few* of the concepts and values listed in the survey, 35% had experience with *half* of them, 23% had experienced *most* of them, and 28% had experience discussing nearly *all* of them. As such, 62% of respondents had at least a moderate experience with the concepts and values discussed at home or in extracurricular settings.

Additionally, the frequencies of responses regarding the concepts and values discussed outside of school are also investigated. Regarding *tolerance*, 67% of participants indicated experience discussing this value in school while 33% did not. *Empathy* was experienced less often with only 36% indicating experience with the value and the majority at 64% indicating they did not experience it. Concepts such as *discrimination* and *racism* were also more successfully

experienced with 61% indicating experience discussing *discrimination* and 65% indicating experience discussing *racism* outside of the classroom.

The third survey section asked respondents to indicate their attitudes towards African migrants through six questions addressing different areas of life in Malta: economy, culture, and living space. The first two items addressed economic attitudes. In response to the first item, “*Do African migrants have a positive or negative effect on the Maltese economy,*” the majority of participants at 54% indicated a *negative* response, while 23% indicated a *positive* response, 9% said *no effect*, and 14% was *unsure*. The mean score was [3.25] indicating an overall *slightly negative* response. In response to the second item, “*Do African migrants have a positive or negative effect on the Maltese job market,*” the majority of participants at 49% indicated a *negative* response, 33% indicated a *positive* response, 12% said *no effect*, and 6% was *unsure*. The mode was [3.55] indicating a nearly *neutral* overall response.

The third and fourth items addressed cultural attitudes. In response to the third item, “*Do African migrants have a positive or negative effect on Maltese cultural life,*” the majority of participants at 41% indicated a *negative* response, 28% indicated a *positive* response, 28% said *no effect*, and 3% was *unsure*. The mean was [3.53] indicating a nearly *neutral* overall response. In response to the fourth item, “*How good or bad is it for Malta to be made up of people from different races, religions and cultures,*” the majority of respondents at 68% indicated a *positive* response with 17% specifically stating *very good*. 16% indicated *negative* responses, 12% indicated a *neutral* response, and 4% was *unsure*. The mean was [5.0] indicating an overall *slightly positive* response.

The fifth and sixth items addressed attitudes regarding the perceived impacts African migrants are making on Malta as a place to live. In response to the fifth item, “*Do African*

migrants make Malta a better or worse place to live,” the majority of participants at 44% indicated a *negative* response, 17% indicated a *positive* response, 29% said *no effect*, and 10% was *unsure*. The mean was [3.4] indicating an overall *slightly negative* response. In response to the sixth and final attitude question, *“How does the presence of African migrants affect the crime rate in Malta,”* The majority of respondents at 55% indicated a *negative* response while 23% said *no effect* (the most positive option) and 22% was *unsure*. The mean was [2.65] indicating an overall *slightly negative* response.

Investigating the Frequency of Values Education and Attitudes

The purpose of this study is to explore the impact Values Education has on Maltese youths’ attitudes towards African migrants. The general research question, *“Does Values Education have a positive impact on such attitudes,”* is addressed through a variety of more narrow questions. The first of these asks, *“Does the rate at which one experiences Values Education affect their attitudes towards African migrants?”* To answer this question, participants’ responses regarding their frequency of Values Education activity experience is investigated in relation to their average attitude scores. Recall that the average attitude scores were calculated based on each participant’s responses to the six attitude questions. To begin, the variation in means of average attitude scores were examined between each level of Values Education experience frequency. The *compare means* test is used here to separate these mean average attitude scores to see if there is a significant pattern emerging and in what way these scores shift from level to level.

In the first round of this test, there were three participants’ scores which deviated strongly from the rest. These participants indicated they had *never* experienced Values Education activities but still demonstrated positive attitudes. In fact, these three responses were

the only to indicate *never* in the frequency of Values Education experience. When response-categories fall below a count of five for such a sample size, meaning fewer than five participants indicate a certain response, the data resulting from these low counts is less reliable. In order to improve the data set, these three values were excluded using the *select cases* tool. As these participants were the only to indicate they had *never* experienced Values Education activities, further tests explored respondents' average attitude scores for those who have experienced Values Education *rarely, sometimes, often, and very often*.

A second round of the *compare means* test was run with the newly selected dataset. Table 1 shows a comparison of the mean average attitude scores for each rate of Values Education experience (*rarely* through *very often*). Mean scores are considered significantly different if they vary by at least 0.6 points. While each increment of the rate of Values Education differs by less than 0.6, the variation between *rarely* [3.1] and *often* [3.88] or *very often* [3.81] satisfies the standard for significance in determining a pattern or relationship. Moreover, there is a general increase in average attitude scores as the frequency of Values Education increases. It is interesting to note that the mean average attitude for *often* [3.88] is greater than that of *very often* [3.81] by a marginal degree.

Table 1. Means: VE Frequency & Attitude Average

VE Rate	Mean	Response Count	Std. Dev.
rarely	3.10	8	1.49
sometimes	3.33	23	1.34
often	3.88	27	1.41
very often	3.81	8	1.06
<i>Total</i>	<i>3.58</i>	<i>66</i>	<i>1.36</i>

As a definitive pattern was discovered by comparing the mean average attitude scores, a second test was needed to further explore this pattern and to generate more useable data regarding the relationship between the frequency of Values Education experience and participants' coinciding attitudes. The dichotomous attitude variable (with responses either *negative* or *positive*) was used in a *Chi-Square* test along with participants' frequencies of experience with Values Education activities. As mentioned in the previous section, the *Chi-Square* test results in a cross-tabulation which demonstrates whether a statistically significant relationship exists between two categorical variables. In this case, the question addressed here was, "*Does an increasing frequency of Values Education experience correlate with an increase in positive attitude responses?*" As in the previous test comparing the means in attitude scores in relation to Values Education experience frequency, those indicating a response of *never* for the frequency were de-selected in order to improve the dataset

The *Chi-Square* test thus explored the relationship between positive and negative attitude scores with this new range of Values Education experience frequencies in the selected dataset. The data in Figure 1 demonstrates the percentage of *positive/negative* attitude responses within each frequency level of Values Education experience. The data shows that as the frequency of participants' experience with Values Education increases, the percentage of positive attitude responses increases. For example, for those who indicated they *rarely* experienced Values Education, only 28.6% held an overall positive attitude of African migrants. This percentage increases to 50% for those who answered *sometimes*, 66.7% for those who answered *often*, and continues to increase to 71.4% for those who answered *very often*. This demonstrates a direct correlation between the frequency of Values Education experience and positive attitudes towards African migrants in Malta.

In contrast, as the frequency of Values Education experience increases, the percentage of negative attitudes decreases. For those who indicated they *rarely* experienced Values Education, 71.4% held an overall negative attitude towards African migrants. This percentage decreases to 50.0% for those who answered *sometimes*, 33.3% for those who answered *often*, and 28.6% for those who answered *very often*. This demonstrates an inverse relationship between the frequency of Values Education experience and overall average attitudes towards African migrants.

Moreover, this test generated both the *Cramer's V* score and the *P* value. *Cramer's V* is the measure of association between two categorical (nominal) variables. It is scored between [0.0] and [1.0] with scores of [0.0] to [0.29] indicating a weak relationship, [0.30] to [0.49] indicating a moderate relationship, and anything above [0.50] indicating a strong relationship. The *Cramer's V* score for association between the frequency of Values Education experience and the positive or negative attitude scores is [0.33] indicating a moderate relationship. The *P* value indicates how statistically significant a relationship is by demonstrating what percentage of the time a relationship will be discovered coincidentally. Scores less than or equal to [0.05] indicate a statistically significant relationship. The *P* value here is [0.05] indicating that the correlation between one's frequency of Values Education and their attitudes is statistically significant.

The general purpose of this study is to examine this relationship between Values Education and attitudes towards African migrants. From this data, a clear relationship is demonstrated in which experience with Values Education increases the prevalence of more positive attitudes while at the same time limiting that of negative attitudes. As the data has also indicated that this relationship is both statistically significant and moderately strong, it is clear that Values Education is definitively related to attitudes in a positive way. This finding is

important to the remainder of this study as subsequent analytical tests explore different aspects of Values Education in order to determine which factors involved may be contributing to this significant relationship.

It is also interesting to point out the data in Figure 1 demonstrates that the variance in percent of attitude responses from one frequency to another is greatest in the jump from *rarely* to *sometimes*. The percentage for positive attitudes in this space increased by 21.4 percentage points while negative attitudes decreased by 21.4 percentage points. The variation in percentage of attitude responses differs by 16.7 percentage points from *sometimes* to *often* and 4.7 percentage points from *often* to *very often*.

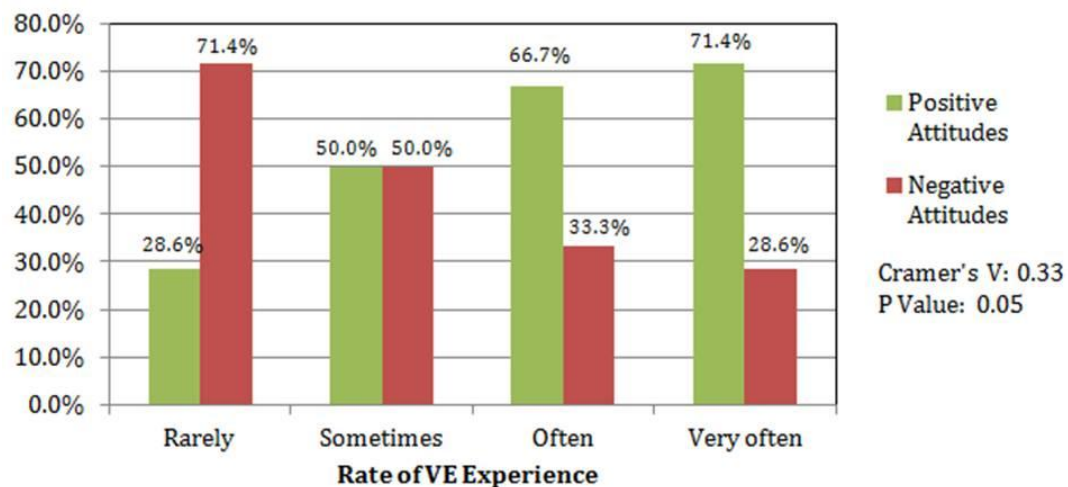


Figure 1. Crosstab Comparing Rates of VE Experience with Percentages of Positive and Negative Attitudes

Investigating Evaluations of Values Education and Attitudes

The previous test demonstrated a definitive relationship between the frequency of Values Education and participants' overall attitudes towards African migrants. This second collection of tests seeks to answer the question, "Does an individual's evaluation of their Values

Education experience correlate with their attitude responses?" Participants were asked to indicate how positive or negative their Values Education experiences were along with how useful they consider those experiences to be in their personal and social lives. As discussed in the methodology section, these two variables were combined to create an average evaluation score regarding participants' perception of their Values Education experiences.

Their average scores were rounded to create a categorical evaluation score which was used in the *compare means* test to examine the shift in average attitude scores from negative to positive levels of Values Education evaluations. Only one participant indicated an evaluation score of less than *slightly negative* but answered *I don't know* to too many of the attitude questions to generate an average attitude score. Thus, the *compare means* test only generated data for those who indicated Values Education evaluation scores between *slightly negative* and *very positive*.

The data in Table 2 displays a general upward trend in the attitude mean scores as the evaluation scores increase. Those who indicated a *slightly negative* experience with Values Education generated a mean average attitude score of [1.0] (*very negative*) while those with a *very positive* evaluation of Values Education generated a mean average attitude score of [4.6]. Generally, the mean attitude scores differ by at least [0.6] indicating a significant variance from one evaluation level to the next. However, those indicating a *neutral* evaluation generated a mean attitude score of [3.7], which is higher than the mean attitude score of those with a *slightly positive* evaluation [3.1]. Additionally, the variance in mean attitudes from *slightly negative* evaluations to *neutral* evaluation is [2.7] points, well above the [0.6] threshold for significance and was the largest degree of variance.

Table 2. Means: VE Evaluation & Attitude Average

Evaluation	Mean	Response Count	Std. Deviation
Slightly Neg	1.0	2	0.0
Neutral	3.7	13	1.7
Slightly Pos	3.1	12	1.5
Positive	3.8	21	1.3
Very Pos	4.6	17	0.9
Total	3.8	65	1.5

As a general correlation between participants' evaluations of Values Education and their average attitude scores was found in the previous test, the *Chi-Square test* was utilized to explore this correlation further and to determine the strength of this relationship. The data displayed in Table 3 indicates what percentage of positive and negative attitude responses were calculated within three evaluations of Values Education: *negative*, *neutral*, and *positive*. A direct relationship between evaluation and positive attitudes is shown since the percentage of positive answer responses increase as the evaluations become more positive. An inverse relationship between evaluation and negative attitudes is also demonstrated as the percentage of negative attitude responses decrease as evaluations become more positive. Thus, there is a general correlation between participants' evaluation of their Values Education experience and their positive/negative attitudes. However, the *P* value is scored at [0.42] indicating that this correlation is not statistically significant.

Table 3. Chi-Square Crosstab of VE Evaluation

Attitude	Evaluation of Values Education			Total %'s
	Negative	Neutral	Positive	
Positive	40.0%	44.4%	61.4%	56.9%
Negative	60.0%	55.6%	38.6%	43.1%
Total %'s	8.6%	15.5%	75.9%	100.0%

P Value: 0.42

Investigating Values Education Locations

This next collection of tests explores the correlation between Values Education experiences in various locations (in school, at home, in extracurricular activities) with the attitude scores. *Does Values Education in one location more strongly correlate to the attitudes than others?* To begin, the *Chi-Square* test was conducted for each of the Values Education locations to see what kind of relationship is present between these and the attitudes.

The first location item explored is Values Education in school. For those who experienced such activities in school, 66.7% held positive attitudes and 33.3% held negative attitudes. In contrast, for those who did not experience Values Education in school, 33.3% held positive attitudes while the majority of these at 66.7% held negative attitudes. Thus, a direct relationship between Values Education in school and attitudes is present while an inverse relationship is demonstrated for negative attitudes. Moreover, the *Cramer's V* is scored at [0.4] indicating a moderate relationship while the *P* value at [0.01] indicates this relationship is statistically significant.

The second item explored is Values Education at home. For those who did indicate such experience, 56.2% held positive attitudes while 43.8% held negative attitudes. However, this is very similar to the results for those who did not experience Values Education at home with 57.1% holding positive attitudes and 42.9% holding negative attitudes. Moreover, the *Cramer's V* at [0.09] indicated a weak relationship while the *P* value at [0.94] indicated a lack of statistical significance.

This third item explored Values Education in extracurricular activities such as youth, religious groups, athletic, or other community groups. For those with Values Education experience here, 60.9% held positive attitudes while 39.1% held negative attitudes. Of those

without such experience, 42.9% held positive attitudes while 57.1% held negative. As is similar in the results of Values Education in school, a direct relationship is present between Values Education in extracurricular groups and attitudes while an inverse relationship is present for negative attitudes. However, the *Cramer's V* at [0.15] indicates a weak relationship while the *P* value at [0.23] indicates a lack of statistical significance.

Table 4. Crosstab # of VE Locations and Attitudes

Attitude	1 Location	2 Locations	3 Locations	Totals
Positive	47.1%	47.6%	75.0%	33 56.9%
Negative	52.9%	52.4%	25.0%	25 43.1%
Totals	29.3%	36.2%	34.5%	58 100.0%

Cramer's V: 0.26

P value: 0.25

Following the examination of the correlation between the attitudes and each of the Values Education locations, a *Chi-Square* crosstab was run to determine whether participants who experienced Values Education in two or three locations were more likely to respond with positive attitudes. Table 4 above demonstrates that the percentage of positive attitudes generally increases as the number of locations participants experienced Values Education increases. However, the increase in percentage is very slight from *1 location* to *2 locations* with more participants in both categories indicating negative responses at 52.9% and 52.4% respectively. The biggest variance is between *2 locations* and *3 locations* with positive attitudes rising by 27.4 percentage points and negative attitudes decreasing by the same. However, the *Cramer's V* at [0.26] indicates a weak relationship between the number of locations Values

Education is experienced in and the attitude scores. Additionally, the *P* value at [0.25] indicates this relationship lacks statistical significance.

Investigating Values Education Levels

The next set of tests explore the correlation between the attitudes and different educational levels of Values Education, namely *primary*, *secondary*, *post-secondary*, and *tertiary*. *Does Values Education in one level more strongly correlate to the attitudes than others?* To answer this question, the *Chi-Square* test was conducted for each of the Values Education levels to see what kind of relationship is present between these and the attitudes.

The first level item explored is Values Education in primary school. For those who experienced such activities at the *primary* level, 60.9% held positive attitudes and 39.1% held negative. In contrast, for those who did not experience Values Education at the *primary* level, 57.5% held positive attitudes while 42.5% held negative attitudes. Thus, a direct relationship between Values Education in primary school and attitudes is present as the percentage of positive responses increases with primary experience while an inverse relationship for negative attitudes is demonstrated as the percentage of negative responses decreases. However, participants here more often responded positively regardless of their experience with Values Education in primary school. Moreover, the *Cramer's V* is scored at [0.03] indicating a weak relationship while the *P* value at [0.79] indicates a lack of statistical significance.

The second level item explored is Values Education in secondary school. For those who experienced such activities at the *secondary* level, 63.4% held positive attitudes and 36.6% held negative. In contrast, for those who did not experience Values Education at the *secondary* level, 50.0% held positive attitudes and 50.0% held negative attitudes. Thus, a direct relationship between Values Education in secondary school and attitudes is present as the percentage of

positive responses increases with secondary experience while an inverse relationship is demonstrated for negative attitudes as the percentage of negative responses decreases. However, the *Cramer's V* is scored at [0.13] indicating a weak relationship while the *P* value at [0.30] indicates this relationship lacks statistical significance.

The third level item explored is Values Education in post-secondary school. For those who experienced such activities at the *post-secondary* level, 57.7% held positive attitudes and 42.3% held negative. In contrast, for those who did not experience Values Education at the *post-secondary* level, 59.5% held positive attitudes while 40.5% held negative attitudes. However, participants here more often responded generally positively regardless of their experience with Values Education in post-secondary school. Additionally, a direct relationship between post-secondary experience and attitudes is not demonstrated as the percentage of positive responses decrease with post-secondary experience while the percentage of negative responses increases. Moreover, the *Cramer's V* at [0.02] indicates a weak relationship while the *P* value at [0.89] indicates a lack of statistical significance

The fourth level item explored is Values Education in tertiary school. For those who experienced such activities at the *tertiary* level, 75% held positive attitudes and 25% held negative. In contrast, for those who did not experience Values Education at the *tertiary* level, 53.2% held positive attitudes while 46.8% held negative attitudes. A stronger direct relationship is demonstrated here with positive attitudes rising by 21.8 percentage points with tertiary experience while an inverse relationship is demonstrated as negative attitudes fall at the same rate. Additionally, those who experience Values Education at the *tertiary* level were three times more likely to indicate positive attitudes. Moreover, the *Cramer's V* at [0.34] indicates a

moderate relationship between tertiary Values Education and attitudes while the P value at [0.04] indicates statistical significance.

To determine whether experiencing Values Education at more educational levels correlated with the attitudes, a *Chi-Square* cross-tabulation was run to explore the variance in percentages of positive and negative attitude responses at the different number of level experiences. Generally, the data shows an upward trend in attitude responses as the number of levels increases. Positive attitudes were indicated 52.4% of the time for those with Values Education experience in *one level* and increased slightly to 58.8% for *two levels* of experience, 60% for *three levels*, and 100% for those experiencing Values Education in all *four educational levels*. Negative attitudes decreased from *one level* at 47.6% to *two levels* at 41.2%, 40% at *three levels*, and dropped dramatically to 0% for those who indicated all *four levels* of Values Education. Moreover, the *Cramer's V* at [0.30] indicates a moderate relationship, but the P value at [0.29] indicates a lack of statistical significance.

Investigating Values and Concepts

Generally, the data indicates a direct correlation between Values Education and Maltese youths' attitudes towards African migrants. This next set of tests looks more specifically at the two underlying values most emphasized in Values Education: tolerance and empathy. Additionally, as this study is exploring Values Education as a potential means to increase integration opportunities for African migrants and the social cohesion between these and Maltese populations, two particularly relevant concepts which apply the values of tolerance and empathy, namely discrimination and racism, are also explored. The correlation between these values and concepts with attitudes are investigated separately by those experienced in schools and those experienced outside of schools.

First, experiences in school with the value *tolerance* were explored. Of those with such experience, 65.9% held *positive* attitudes while 34.1% held *negative* attitudes. In contrast, those without such experience were more likely to hold *negative* attitudes at 57.9% while only 42.1% held *positive* attitudes. A direct relationship between *tolerance* in school and *positive* attitudes is demonstrated while an inverse relationship with *negative* attitudes is shown. However, the *Cramer's V* at [0.22] indicates a weak relationship with the *P* value at [0.07] indicates this relationship is only slightly significant.

Next, experiences in school with the value of *empathy* were explored. Of those with such experience, 68% held *positive* attitudes while 32% held *negative*, and those without such experience were more likely to hold *negative* attitudes at 52.6% than *positive* attitudes at 47.4%. While a direct relationship between experiences in school and the value of *empathy* with *positive* attitudes is present along with an inverse relationship with *negative* attitudes, the *Cramer's V* at [0.15] and the *P* value at [.023] indicate a weak and statistically insignificant relationship.

Then, experiences in school with the concept *discrimination* were explored. Those with such experience were more likely to indicate *positive* attitudes at 71.1% than *negative* at 28.9% while those without such experience were more likely to indicate *negative* attitudes at 60% than *positive* at 40%. A stronger direct relationship is present between Values Activities which discuss *discrimination* as the percent of those indicating a *positive* response rose 31.1 percentage points as participants indicated their experience with this concept. Those with such experience were nearly 2.5 times more likely to indicate *positive* attitudes. Moreover, the *Cramer's V* indicated a moderate relationship with a score of [0.31] while the *P* value at [0.01] indicated that this relationship is statistically significant.

The next item explored is school experiences with the concept of *racism*. Of those with such experience, 71.8% held *positive* attitudes while 28.2% held *negative* attitudes. Those without such experience were more likely to indicate *negative* attitudes at 62.5% than *positive* attitudes at 37.5%. A strong direct relationship is present between the concept of *racism* and attitudes as the percent of those indicating a *positive* response rose 34.3 percentage points as participants indicated their experience with this concept. Additionally, participants who have experience with this concept in schools are 2.5 times more likely to indicate *positive* attitudes. Moreover, this relationship is moderate with a *Cramer's V* of [0.34] and is especially statistically significant with a *P* value of [0.00].

Additionally, these values and concepts experienced outside of school were investigated. The first of these was experiences with the value of *tolerance* outside of school. Of those with such experience, 65.9% held *positive* attitudes while 34.1% held *negative* attitudes. In contrast, those without such experience were more likely to hold *negative* attitudes at 54.5% while 45.5% held *positive* attitudes. A direct relationship between *tolerance* in school and *positive* attitudes is demonstrated while an inverse relationship with *negative* attitudes is shown. However, the *Cramer's V* at [0.12] indicates a weak relationship with the *P* value at [0.12] indicating this relationship is not statistically significant.

Next, experiences outside of school with the value *empathy* were explored. Of those with such experience, 59.1% held *positive* attitudes while 40.9% held *negative* attitudes. Those without such experience were also more likely to hold *positive* attitudes at 58.5% than *negative* attitudes at 41.5%. Thus, as participants' responses were comparable regardless of their experience with the value of *empathy* outside of school, no direct correlations were discovered.

Moreover, the *Cramer's V* at [0.00] and the *P* value at [.096] indicate a weak and statistically insignificant relationship.

Then, experiences outside of school with the concept *discrimination* were explored. Those with such experience were more likely to indicate *positive* attitudes at 67.6% than *negative* at 32.4% while those without such experience were slightly more likely to indicate *negative* attitudes at 53.8% than *positive* at 46.2%. A direct relationship between the concept of *discrimination* experienced outside of school and *positive* attitudes is demonstrated while an inverse relationship with *negative* attitudes is shown. However, this relationship is weak with a *Cramer's V* of [0.21] and is not statistically significant with a *P* value of [0.08].

The last item explored experiences outside of school with the concept of *racism*. Of those with such experience, 65% held *positive* attitudes while 35% held *negative* attitudes. Those without such experience were slightly more likely to indicate *negative* attitudes at 52.2% than *positive* attitudes at 47.8%. A direct relationship between the concept of *racism* experienced outside of school and *positive* attitudes is demonstrated while an inverse relationship with *negative* attitudes is shown. However, this relationship is weak with a *Cramer's V* of [0.17] and is not statistically significant with a *P* value of [0.18].

Investigating the Mitigating Factors

As discovered through previous tests, Values Education correlates with attitude scores in a variety of ways. The frequencies of experience with such activities, the location and educational level of such experiences, and the types of values and concepts emphasized have been addressed. However, previous studies have attributed the variance in attitudes towards immigrants to other factors, such as socio-demographic characteristics. As such, the next

collection of tests explores the correlation between the socio-demographic factors collected in the survey with the attitude scores.

Gender was the first factor explored. *Females* were generally more likely to demonstrate *positive* attitudes at 62.8% than *negative* at 37.2% while *males* were only slightly more likely to demonstrate *negative* attitudes at 52.6% than *positive* at 47.4%. While a direct relationship between gender and attitudes is demonstrated, only 28% of overall respondents were male. As these results were not stratified to generate two equal male and female populations, they are generally unreliable. Moreover, the *Cramer's V* at [0.14] and *P* value of [0.26] indicate a weak and statistically insignificant relationship between gender and attitudes here.

The next factor explored was participants' indicated *employment status*. Respondents were divided into two categories – those employed *full-time* and those who were *not employed full-time*. Those with a *full-time job* were nearly twice more likely to indicate a *positive* attitude at 65.5% than a *negative* attitude at 34.5%. However, those *without full-time employment* also indicated *positive* responses more often at 52.9% than *negative* at 47.1%. Thus, no direct relationship was discovered between employment status and positive/negative overall attitudes. Moreover, the *Cramer's V* at [0.13] and the *P* value of [0.31] indicate a weak and statistically insignificant relationship.

The following factor to be explored was participants' highest level of completed education. Respondents were divided into two categories – those with university experience and those without. Those with university experience were generally more positive in their attitude responses with 66.7% indicating positive attitudes and 33.3% indicating negative attitudes. However, those without university experience were also slightly more likely to

indicate positive responses at 51.5% than negative at 48.5%. However, with a *Cramer's V* score of [0.15] and a *P* value of [0.22], this relationship is considered to be weak and insignificant.

The last two mitigating factors explored are related to participants' contact with African migrants. First, their rate of contact is explored in correlation with the attitudes scores. Participants were split into five groups based on their responses to the contact question – *never*, *rarely*, *sometimes*, *often*, and *very often*. The data in Table 5 indicates that as participants' rate of contact increases from *never* to any degree of contact ranging from *rarely* to *very often*, they are more likely to indicate positive attitudes towards African migrants. However, the data fails to demonstrate a correlation between an increasing rate of contact with an increasing prevalence of positive attitudes. For example, those who *rarely* experience contact with migrants demonstrated positive attitudes 60.7% of the time but when that contact rate increases to *sometimes*, the percentage of positive responses decreases to 54.5%. Again, as the rate of contact increases to *often* the percentage of positive responses surges to 77.8%. Moreover, the *Cramer's V* score of [0.27] and *P* value of [0.33] indicates this relationship is weak and not statistically significant.

Table 5. Rate of Contact with African Migrants and Attitudes

Attitudes	never	rarely	sometimes	often	very often	Totals
Positive	20.0%	60.7%	54.5%	77.8%	60.0%	37 / 58.7%
Negative	80.0%	39.3%	45.5%	22.2%	40.0%	26 / 41.3%
Totals	7.9%	44.4%	17.5%	14.3%	15.9%	63 / 100%

Cramer's V: 0.27

P Value: 0.33

While the rate of contact is a weak indicator of participants' attitudes, their evaluation of that contact was assumed to correlate more strongly. As such, the *Chi-Square* cross-tabulation was run to explore this relationship between participants' evaluation of their contact experience with African migrants and their coinciding attitudes towards this group. Respondents were divided into three categories based on their evaluations of such contact – *negative*, *neutral*, and *positive*. The data in Table 6 demonstrates a strong correlation between these variables. As contact evaluation grows more *positive*, the prevalence of *positive* attitude responses increases in percentage and *negative* attitudes decrease in percentage. For example, moving from *negative* to *neutral* to *positive* contact evaluation categories, the percentage of positive attitude responses surges from 9.1%, to 50.0%, and increases again to 85.7%, respectively.

Table 6. Contact Evaluation and Attitudes

Attitude	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Totals
Positive	9.1%	50.0%	85.7%	37 / 58.7%
Negative	90.9%	50.0%	14.3%	26 / 41.3%
Totals	17.5%	38.1%	44.4%	63 / 100%

Cramer's V: 0.58

P Value: 0.00

Additionally, those who *negatively* evaluate such contact are nearly ten times more likely to indicate a *negative* attitude towards this group while those *positively* evaluating their contact with African migrants are six times more likely to indicate a *positive* attitude response towards this group. Moreover, with a *Cramer's V* score of [0.58] and a *P* value of [0.00] this relationship is considered strong and statistically significant.

Comparing the Impact of Relevant Factors

As noted in the previous tests, a number of factors have been proven to have a moderate or strong correlation with the sample of Maltese youths' attitudes towards African migrants. These items are participants' frequency of Values Education experience, Values Education activities experienced in school, particularly at the tertiary level, and those which emphasize the concepts of discrimination and racism. Additionally, participants' evaluation of their contact with African migrants has shown to be of particular relevance as well. These factors were run through a *multiple regression* test. As noted in the Methodology, a *multiple regression* is used to explore the relationship between several independent variables and a dependent variable in order to determine which factors correlate more strongly. Additionally, the impact of higher education is also measured in order to compare this factor with Values Education at the tertiary level.

The first data generated by a *multiple regression* is the *R* value and the R^2 which indicate how strong of a predictor the set of independent variables are in relation to the attitudes and what percentage of the variance in attitudes can be attributed to these factors. The *R* value here is [0.76] indicating these factors combined yield a strong level of prediction of participants' attitude scores. The R^2 is [0.57] indicating that 57% of the variance in attitude scores can be explained using these factors. Additionally, the *P* value for this set is [0.00] indicating a statistically significant relationship between these factors and the attitude scores.

The second set of data generated in a *multiple regression* is the *beta* coefficient and the *P* values for each of the independent variables indicating how strongly they impact the average attitude scores. Participants' frequency of Values Education experiences received a *beta* score of [0.26] meaning that for every single-unit increase in frequency of experience, the attitude scores

rose by 0.26 points on average. However, with a P value of [0.08] this relationship is only moderately statistically significant. Values Education experience in school received a *beta* score of [0.78] indicating that such experience increased average attitudes by nearly a whole level. Moreover, the P value at [0.04] indicates this relationship is statistically significant.

Both of the concepts which have been shown to correlate strongly with the attitudes were explored here. Values Education experiences with the concept of discrimination received a *beta* score of [1.01] indicating a strong impact on the attitudes. The P value at [0.01] indicates a statistically significant relationship. Experiences with the concept of racism received a *beta* score of [0.85] indicating a strong increase in attitude scores while the P value for this item at [0.03] shows this relationship to be statistically significant.

As this study seeks to explore the difference between a higher education and a specific Values Education, both the level of highest education completed by participants and their experience with Values Education at the tertiary level are included in the *multiple regression*. Having university experience received a *beta* score of [0.26] indicating a slight increase in average attitude scores. However, the P value at [0.52] indicates a lack of statistical significance. Values Education in tertiary school received a *beta* score of [0.75] indicating a moderate increase in attitude scores. With a P value of [0.08], this relationship is slightly statistically significant.

Lastly, participants' evaluation of their contact with African migrants was shown to be related to their attitude scores. This item received a *beta* score of [0.70] indicating a moderate increase in attitude scores. Additionally, the P value scored at [0.00] indicates that this relationship is statistically significant.

Concluding Remarks

The purpose of this quantitative study is to explore the relationship between Values Education and Maltese youths' attitudes towards African migrants in Malta. A number of exploratory tests were conducted utilizing a variety of scores and coefficients to determine the strength and significance of correlations. This generated a multi-faceted understanding of the relationship between Values Education and attitudes and indicated which factors contribute more to this relationship.

This chapter presented the findings of these tests in sections addressing specific questions and assumptions. The first section presented the prevalence of different responses to each section of the survey including socio-demographic factors, experiences with Values Education, and general attitudes. While significantly more females than males participated in the survey, the results indicated a fairly even distribution in the prevalence of different socio-demographic factors and experiences with Values Education. Thus, the sample population was shown to be varied and more representative of the greater Maltese youth population. Additionally, the even distribution of experience frequencies with Values Education allowed for a deeper exploration of the relationship between Values Education and attitudes.

The second section presented the data pertaining to the correlation between participants' frequency of Values Education and their attitude scores. A clear and significant relationship was demonstrated between these variables. Specifically, it was determined that a higher frequency of experience does definitively correlate with an increasing prevalence of positive attitudes and a decreasing prevalence of negative attitudes. Additionally, as such frequency increases, the mean average attitude scores increased indicating that not only the prevalence of positive attitudes increases but that the strength of such attitudes also increases.

Next, the relationship between participants' evaluation of their Values Education experience and their attitudes was explored. A general correlation was demonstrated between evaluations of experience and attitudes in which more positive evaluations were related to more positive attitudes while more negative evaluations were related to more negative attitudes. Both the prevalence and strength of positive and negative attitudes were found to relate to such experience evaluations. However, this relationship generated a weak *P* value indicating a lack of statistical significance.

This was followed by two sections which addressed the variation in attitudes based on Values Education in different locations. Values Education in schools demonstrated the strongest and most statistically significant relationship with attitudes over such experiences in other locations. Values Education in extracurricular spaces and at home were not determined to correlate significantly to the attitudes. For those who have experienced Values Education in more than one location, the data indicated more positive attitudes with the biggest increase in prevalence existing in the move from two locations to all three. However, this relationship was not shown to be statistically significant.

The following section addressed the variation in attitudes based on Values Education in different educational levels. Direct relationships were determined between the attitudes and Values Education at the primary, secondary and tertiary level while such experiences at the post-secondary level were shown to have little effect. However, such experiences at the tertiary level were the only ones which demonstrated a strong and significant relation to attitudes. Those at the secondary level were also shown to be moderately significant and also much more accessible than tertiary experiences.

The next section addressed the relationship between specific values and concepts as they are experienced in and out of the school setting to see how these differed in correlation with the attitude scores. While the values and concepts explored were determined to have weak and insignificant relationships with the attitudes when experienced outside of school, those within school demonstrated stronger impacts. The values of tolerance and empathy were shown to have a positive relationship with attitudes but this was not determined to be significant. However, the concepts of discrimination and racism, when discussed in schools, were found to greatly and significantly correlate with the attitudes.

The following section addressed the possible mitigating factors by exploring the relationships between different socio-demographic characteristics and attitude scores. Weak and insignificant relationships between attitudes and variables such as gender, employment status, and highest level of completed education were demonstrated. An exploration of the frequency of contact with African migrants also demonstrated a weak correlation with the attitudes while participants' evaluation of their contact demonstrated a strong and statistically significant relationship with their coinciding attitudes. Those who indicated a negative evaluation of that contact were 91% likely to indicate negative attitudes while those with positive evaluations were 85.7% likely to demonstrate positive attitudes. Neutral evaluations indicated a 50/50 likelihood for either positive or negative attitude scores.

Finally, this chapter ended with an analysis of the combined impacts of the factors and items determined to be moderately or strongly correlated with the attitude scores and of particular statistical significance. About 57% of the variance in attitude scores was attributed to a combination of significant factors including participants' frequency of Values Education experience, Values Education activities experienced in school, particularly at the tertiary level,

and those which emphasize the concepts of discrimination and racism. Participants' evaluation of their contact with African migrants and their highest level of completed education were also included.

Participants' frequency of Values Education experiences demonstrated a moderate impact on attitudes, though this impact was only slightly significant when compared to that of other factors. Values Education experience in school demonstrated a strong and significant impact on attitudes. The concepts of discrimination and racism when discussed in schools both demonstrated a strong and significant impact on attitudes while a university degree demonstrated only a slight impact, though statistically insignificant. However, Values Education in tertiary school demonstrated a strong and slightly significant impact on attitudes. Lastly, participants' evaluation of their contact with African migrants was shown to be strongly and particularly significant in their relation to their attitude scores.

Overall, the data reflects a significant relationship between Values Education and Maltese youths' attitudes towards African migrants. The next chapter will discuss these findings in more detail and demonstrate how this data is meaningful in understanding the relationship between Values Education in Malta and attitudes towards African migrants.

Data Discussion

The purpose of this study is to explore the impact of Values Education on Maltese youths' attitudes towards African migrants. This topic was chosen both due to a personal interest in understanding the development of such attitudes and because negative attitudes towards this group have become an obstacle to the successful integration of approved asylum-seekers into the greater Maltese society. Feelings of discrimination and racism have forced a number of African migrants to live in isolation thus decreasing their opportunities to positively engage with Maltese individuals and improve the relationship between these communities.

This chapter discusses the findings from this study and demonstrates that Values Education has had a positive impact on Maltese youths' attitudes towards African migrants. The various findings from the previous chapter will be analyzed and interpreted more thoroughly in order to show how the data is meaningful for our understanding of the relationship between Values Education and the attitudes studied. Additionally, this chapter gives recommendations for how to improve attitudes using Values Education based on the impacts of the different aspects and factors of this educational approach. The next chapter will take these findings and connect them back to the greater literature on this subject.

This chapter is subdivided in a similar order as the previous chapter which presented the data findings. The first section discusses the frequencies of responses and what they mean for attitudes and for Values Education in Malta. The second section indicates that while

participants' positive evaluation of their experiences with Values Education may improve their attitudes, this evaluation may not be as important as other factors. The third section demonstrates the strengths of impact on attitudes based on various locations of Values Education with experiences within schools demonstrating the strongest impact. Additionally, the fourth section demonstrates that such experiences at the tertiary level are the most influential in the formation of positive attitudes. However, as a number of Maltese youths will not attend university, Values Education activities at the secondary level, also significant in their impact, are the most widely accessible. As such, Values Education within educational institutions at the secondary and tertiary levels can have the greatest positive impact on attitudes in Malta.

A subsequent section addresses the impacts of values such as tolerance and empathy as well as concepts such as discrimination and racism. Values Education activities in schools emphasizing the concepts of discrimination and racism are found to be the most influential factors in improving attitudes. These concepts move young people beyond an abstract conception of pro-social values and create opportunities for young people to put these values into practice through real-world scenarios.

Additionally, the various socio-demographic factors are explored to determine how these may be mitigating the impact of Values Education on attitudes. The factors explored include gender, employment status, the highest level of completed education, frequency of contact with African migrants, and the evaluation of that contact. The majority of these factors demonstrated weak and insignificant impacts on the attitudes. However, participants' evaluation of their contact with African migrants was shown to have a strong and significant correlation with the attitudes. Both positive and negative contact with African migrants is shown to influence attitudes considerably. As such, it is suggested that Values Education should include

opportunities for positive and constructive contact in order to maximize the potential for improving attitudes.

Lastly, the combined impact of relevant factors is explored. Each of these factors is compared to determine which are having a greater impact on the formation of positive attitudes. Those demonstrating the strongest correlation with the attitude scores were Values Education experiences emphasizing the concepts of discrimination and racism while the highest level of completed education factor demonstrated the weakest impact.

Response Frequencies

There were a total of 69 survey participants in this study exhibiting a variety of experiences, viewpoints, and socio-demographic characteristics. As noted in the *Data Findings* section, nearly three-quarters of respondents were female and roughly half completed a university degree. Additionally, nearly half of participants indicated they were employed full-time. While the results were not stratified to create a more evenly divided sample population in terms of gender, the variations between other factors were fairly even making the sample group a little more representative of the greater population of Maltese youths.

As the research question pertains to the relationship between Values Education and Maltese youths' attitudes towards African migrants, it was necessary to generate data representing a variety of Values Education experiences. Participants' frequency and level of experience with Values Education varied greatly in the sample population. A little over a third of the sample indicated their experience to be *often*, slightly fewer indicated their experience to be *sometimes*, and a number also indicated they had such experiences *very often* or *never* at all.

The wide variation in this populations' experience with Values Education could mean a number of things. This potentially indicates that the educational system in Malta lacks a direct

and widely applied Values Education approach in which this pedagogy is made explicit to students in all schools. It could also be indicative of potentially different educational approaches between the government-run and privately-run educational institutions. Further, this variation in experience in the sample population could be due to differing understandings of the concept and the resulting over or under reporting of such experiences. While the survey offered a brief and concise definition of Values Education, it was up to participants to apply this knowledge to their own experience. Thus, the level of application may be different for each individual which could yield a slightly different result. While the variation in Values Education experience allows this study to explore more deeply the relationship between this educational approach and Maltese youths' attitudes towards African migrants, the degree of variation reflects the notion that such experiences are not widely understood or accessible in Malta. Additional studies could further our understanding here by exploring the different Values Education opportunities in more detail and investigating their quality and effectiveness at influencing such attitudes.

It is also important to note the variation in attitude responses. There were seven possible answer choices for the majority of the attitude questions with varying degrees of negative and positive options (as well as an option for participants to respond with *I don't know*). In all but one of these questions, the largest group of respondents answered with strengths of negativity. It is important to note that the prevalence of *strongly negative* responses was far greater than that of *strongly positive* responses. The most common of positive responses was *slightly positive* with fewer indicating *positive*. Very few respondents indicated *very positive* attitudes. However, neutral and positive responses alike were both considered positive for data analysis purposes.

Thus, while negative overall responses were the most common of the three, the combined neutral and positive responses represented a larger portion of the sample population. This indicates that the majority of Maltese youths generally don't hold negative attitudes towards African migrants. However, the strength of positive responses was less powerful than the strength of negative responses which often brought the mean average attitude scores for various attitude questions down into the range of *slightly negative*. This indicates that those with negative attitudes demonstrate stronger attitudes than those with positive attitudes. Thus, while overall negative attitudes may be less common than neutral and positive attitude combined, they are more strongly held.

The question generating negative responses most often was the perceived contributions to the crime rate by African migrants. Just over half of respondents, at 55%, indicated that this group increases the crime rate in ranges from *slightly* to *strongly increase*. However, when asked about how African migrants impact Malta as a living place, only 44% reported negative responses. When thinking abstractly about African migrants' impacts on Malta as a living place, participants were generally more positive; but when considering a real example of such an impact respondents generally responded negatively. This is a particularly interesting finding and will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

This trend was also present in participants' responses to questions regarding the perceived cultural impacts made by African migrants. When asked *how positive or negative the cultural impact of African migrants is*, less than half of respondents, at 41%, indicated a negative impact. However, when asked an abstract question about their evaluation of diversity as a hindrance or an asset to Malta, 80% of respondents replied positively. Thus, when thinking abstractly about cultural impacts, the majority of Maltese youths are in support of an eclectic

and diverse population. But when the concept of diversity is narrowed down to a conversation regarding a specific cultural group, African migrants, this support for diversity is no longer popular.

It is possible that Values Education experiences in Malta are successful in encouraging support for pro-social values and attitudes including tolerance, acceptance, and respect for diversity but failing to consistently draw connections between these abstract values and their applications in real life. The purpose of Values Education is not simply to instill pro-social values but to see these values applied in everyday life. It is not just about knowing which values increase the wellbeing of self and others, but actually practicing these values. In the case of Malta, perhaps support is being raised for such positive values but that young people are lacking enough opportunities to engage with and practice applying these positive values in real-world scenarios.

The survey also asked participants to indicate their perceptions of African migrants' impacts on economic life in Malta. In contrast to the perceived cultural and living space impacts, participants generally responded more negatively to the abstract question with 54% of respondents demonstrating attitudes that African migrants are having a negative impact on the Maltese economy. Moreover, this question generated the second most prevalent rate of negative responses. As such, the sample population indicated greater concerns regarding perceived threats to the economy than the culture.

However, in response to a specific economic concern, the perceived *impact African migrants are having on jobs in Malta*, fewer respondents indicated negative attitudes at 49%. While this number is still nearly half of the sample population, the prevalence of negative responses dropped when participants were asked to consider a real example of an economic

impact rather than the abstract concept of such impacts. This is an interesting difference to note, however reasons for this variance were not specifically addressed within the scope of this study.

Investigating the Frequency of Values Education and Attitudes

The main research topic addressed in this study is whether or not Values Education experiences have a positive impact on attitudes towards African migrants. As such, the first research question addressed here is *what kind of relationship exists between participants' frequencies of experience with Values Education activities and their attitudes towards African migrants*. The first test of this relationship compared the mean average attitude scores for participants based on their experience frequency level (e.g. *rarely* to *very often*). The data demonstrated a significant upward trend in average attitude scores as the frequency of Values Education experience increased indicating that the more often participants experienced Values Education, the more positive their attitudes were towards African migrants.

It is important to note that the mean average attitude scores for each frequency level were between [3.1] and [3.9]. Scores closer to [3] indicate *slightly negative* attitudes while those closer to [4] indicate more *neutral* attitudes. As noted in the previous subsection, the mean average attitude scores typically reflect more negative attitudes due to the fact that the negative attitudes demonstrated in the survey responses were more strongly held than the positive attitudes. However, these mean scores generally increased by a significant amount as the frequency of Values Education experience increased. Thus, while *strongly negative* responses are still common, Values Education experiences have been successful in minimizing the prevalence of such negative responses. As such, the data demonstrates that Values Education is making a positive and significant impact on attitude responses. However, as the

prevalence of stronger positive attitudes only slightly increased allowing the overall mean average attitude score to remain *slightly negative* at [3.85], the impact of Values Education on attitudes can still be improved or further maximized.

Once this relationship between the frequency of Values Education experience and attitudes was established, the *Chi-Square* cross-tabulation was generated to compare the prevalence of positive and negative attitude responses with the various experience frequency levels. The data indicated a statistically significant relationship between experience frequency and attitudes with an increase in the prevalence of positive attitudes for each increase in frequency level and a decrease in the prevalence of negative attitudes. While the previous test demonstrated the strength of negative attitudes lessened with more experience, the *Chi-Square* showed that by experiencing Values Education more often, individuals were more likely to respond with generally positive attitudes towards African migrants.

Additionally, the biggest spike in the prevalence of positive attitude responses from one frequency level to another was demonstrated in moving from *rarely* to *sometimes* in which the percentage of positive responses increased from 28.6% to 50.0%. This indicates that only a moderate amount of Values Education is required in order to see a large impact on the likelihood that youths will develop more positive attitudes towards African migrants. While increasing levels of frequency from *sometimes* to *often* [+16.7%] and from *often* to *very often* [+4.7%] still further increase the prevalence of positive attitudes, it is clear that Values Education can be successful at making a noticeable and significant impact on attitudes when experienced in moderate amounts as well.

The different aspects of Values Education which could be responsible for this success are discussed in later sections of this chapter. However, it has been shown here that increasing

frequencies of experience with Values Education in Malta has been successful in both lessening the strength of negative attitudes youths hold towards African migrants and in decreasing the likelihood that youths will still develop overall negative attitudes towards this group, despite their experience with Values Education. Moreover, as a lack of Values Education experience or a rare frequency of such experience correlates with stronger and more common negative attitudes, and since the relationship between these two variables has been shown to be statistically significant, it is clear that such a lack (or paucity) of Values Education experiences are playing a noticeable role in shaping attitudes.

Therefore, there is a strong indication that a stronger and more widely applied emphasis on Values Education allowing for such experiences to be accessible to all youths in at least a moderate level could significantly and positively improve attitudes towards African migrants. As more positive attitudes are necessary for relations to improve between these communities, moderate to frequent Values Education could be a potential catalyst for social community-building, a first-step towards increased integration opportunities for African migrants and the Maltese community.

Investigating Evaluations of Values Education and Attitudes

While the previous section demonstrated that Values Education has had a significant impact on attitudes, subsequent tests sought to determine the relationship between participants' evaluation of their Values Education experiences and their attitude scores. *Does one's Values Education experience necessarily need to be positive in order for such experience to have an impact?* To answer this question, two tests were conducted. The *compare means* test demonstrated the variation in mean attitude scores based on participants' evaluation of their experience with Values Education (ranging from *slightly negative* to *very positive*). The majority

of participants indicated an overall positive experience with only two indicating negative experiences. The data demonstrated an overall trend of increasing degrees of positive attitude scores as positive evaluations of Values Education experiences increased.

In fact, these mean attitude scores varied more dramatically in correlation with experience evaluations than with the frequency of Values Education indicating a potentially stronger correlation between attitudes and experience evaluation. However, this trend is slightly inconsistent. For example, those with a *neutral* evaluation of their experience had a mean attitude score of [3.7] while those with a *slightly positive* evaluation (a more positive evaluation level) indicated a lower mean attitude score of [3.1] indicating that for some, a more positive evaluation of their Values Education experience did not correlate with a positive increase in attitudes.

This inconsistency was addressed in a second test which utilized the *Chi-Square* crosstab to further explore the strength of the relationship between these two variables. A direct relationship between evaluation and attitudes was demonstrated as the prevalence of positive attitudes increased with more positive evaluations. Additionally, the prevalence of negative attitudes decreased as evaluations grew more positive indicating that evaluations and attitudes are definitely related. However, the *P* value at [0.42] indicated that this relationship is not statistically significant. While there is a correlation between these two variables, the data does not support the assumption that Values Education experiences need to be positive in order to have a positive impact on attitudes.

Thus, these variables likely correlate for reasons other than a causal relationship. For example, those who hold more positive attitudes towards African migrants may retroactively reflect more positively on their experience with Values Education when engaging with the

survey. Additionally, participants with negative attitudes may reflect more negatively on their experiences with Values Education. In either case, too few negative evaluations were reported for significantly meaningful data to be generated. While the data that is generated certainly does not reflect or support an assumption that there is a causal relationship between an evaluation of Values Education and attitudes, it does indicate that some kind of correlation exists.

While the data does not specifically indicate that Values Education experiences necessarily need to be positive in order to have an impact on attitudes, the correlation presented does potentially indicate that more positive experiences could have a much stronger impact on attitudes. The average mean attitude scores rose dramatically with more positive evaluations. While the data does not explicitly indicate a strong relationship, it does suggest that designing Values Education programming with attention to how it will be received by students could be important. Ensuring that students are positively engaged in such experiences by making the activities fun and useful may bring additional benefits to the impact of Values Education on the formation of positive attitudes.

Investigating Values Education Locations

Subsequent tests explored the impacts of different locations of Values Education on the attitudes. For example, *does Values Education in school correlate more strongly to attitudes than in other locations?* To explore the difference in impacts of Values Education at home, in school, and in extracurricular activities, the *Chi-Square* crosstab was utilized. The majority of participants indicated Values Education experiences in at least one of these locations with 68% *in school*, 72% *in extracurriculars*, and 51% *at home*. The location demonstrating the strongest correlation with attitudes was Values Education experiences in schools with participants who

indicated such experience reporting positive attitudes 66.7% of the time. Other locations, such as extracurricular spaces saw a prevalence of 60.9% positive attitudes while *at home* generated positive attitudes 56.2% of the time.

Additionally, the test indicated how often participants who lacked experiences with Values Education in different locations demonstrated negative attitudes. For those lacking such experience *in schools*, the largest prevalence of negative attitudes was demonstrated at 66.7%. Lacking such experience *in extracurriculars* generated negative attitudes 57.1% of the time while missing such experience *at home* only saw negative attitudes 42.9% of the time. Moreover, participants were more likely to demonstrate overall positive attitudes regardless of their experience with Values Education *at home*. This suggests that the stronger contributions to positive attitudes were occurring in Values Education experiences outside of the home.

However, the data did not demonstrate a strong and statistically significant relationship between such experiences and attitudes in all three of the locations. The only location of Values Education to demonstrate such a relationship was *in school*. This location also indicated the highest risk for the formation of *negative* attitudes if Values Education experiences here were lacking. This indicates that the greatest impact of Values Education on attitudes in Malta is being made in schools. As such, focusing on increasing the emphasis on such experiences in schools can significantly improve Maltese youths' attitudes towards African migrants. This finding will be discussed further in the next chapter within the context of the existing literature on this topic.

Additionally, the correlation between Values Education *at home* and *in extracurricular activities* was not found to be statistically significant, though experiences *in extracurriculars* were the most common. This likely means that experiences in such locations need to be improved in order to be impactful. The ethos of Values Education stresses that this is a

pedagogy of teaching and learning, not a course that can only be experienced in schools. Thus, Values Education dictates that experiences should be accessible and applied throughout all locations. While experiences in these locations were not uncommon, their failure to significantly contribute to positive attitudes should be explored further.

To further our understanding of the impact of locations of Values Education, the *Chi-Square* crosstab explored the variation in the prevalence of positive and negative attitudes for those with experience in one or multiple locations. While a general relationship was found between more locations of experience and a higher prevalence of positive attitudes, this relationship was statistically weak and not particularly significant. Those who experienced Values Education in one or two locations demonstrated a higher likelihood to respond negatively while those with experience in all three locations demonstrated a much greater likelihood to respond positively. However, the data does not support the assumption that Values Education necessarily needs to be experienced in multiple places in order to have an impact, though it does suggest that experiencing such activities in multiple locations may increase one's likelihood of developing positive attitudes.

Overall, these tests indicate that Values Education experiences in any of the locations can positively impact attitudes. However, such experiences within the classroom have been shown to be the most impactful. As was demonstrated when considering the frequency of Values Education experiences in previous tests, a significant percentage of the population is lacking sufficient experience. Previous tests indicated that a stronger and more widely accessible emphasis on Values Education can have a positive impact on attitudes while the data here demonstrates that the most expedient location in which to improve this consistency of application is in the classroom. For this reason, educational institutions in Malta should give

more attention to Values Education activities within the classroom ensuring that they are both fun and engaging for students and frequently experienced. Such an emphasized focus on Values Education in schools will make the biggest positive impact on attitudes.

Additionally, while the relationship between attitudes and such experiences in extracurricular spaces was not determined to be statistically significant, it did demonstrate that such experiences can also have a positive impact. As such, the data suggests that increasing the emphasis on Values Education in this space can also have potential benefits for the formation of positive attitudes.

Investigating Values Education Levels

As Values Education in the classroom was found to make the strongest impact on attitudes, subsequent tests explored the individual impacts of each educational level of such experiences. Those compared are experiences in *primary school*, *secondary school*, *post-secondary*, and the *tertiary* level. Three of these (*primary*, *secondary*, and *tertiary*) demonstrated the expected pattern of relations with attitudes – as participants indicated Values Education experiences at these three levels, the prevalence of positive attitudes increased while that of negative attitudes decreased. Experiences at the *post-secondary* level demonstrated unexpected results in that the prevalence of positive attitudes was more common for those without experience at this level. However, the relationship between Values Education at this level and the attitudes was determined to be weak and not statistically significant. It is unclear given the data generated what factors could be behind this unexpected result. As such, this study was unable to indicate why participants with Values Education experience at the post-secondary level were more likely to demonstrate negative attitudes than those lacking experience at this level.

The education level indicating the strongest relationship, as well as the most statistically significant, was Values Education experience in tertiary school. Those with such experience were three times more likely to report positive attitudes than negative ones. This location also indicated the greatest prevalence of positive attitudes for those with experience at 75%. As such, Values Education at the tertiary level appears to be the most successful in moving individuals from an abstract acceptance of diversity to the application of tolerance in regards to real people, in this case African migrants.

It is necessary to point out the possibility that such experiences at the tertiary level may have the strongest impact simply due to the level of education in general. For example, perhaps this relationship is actually reflecting the positive impact of university experience in general, regardless of one's experience with Values Education. This very possibility is addressed in the final section of this chapter in which the data demonstrates that having a university degree alone does not correlate with more positive attitudes. As such, the relationship between Values Education at the tertiary level and positive attitudes is reflective of a specific relationship between these two variables and not between the level of education in general with the attitudes.

However, while 48% of respondents hold a university degree, only a third of those indicated they had experienced Values Education at this level. As the level with the strongest potential impact, it is especially concerning that university classrooms are lacking a consistent emphasis and application of Values Education. A more focused and explicit approach to Values Education at this level could greatly impact attitudes towards African migrants in a positive way and pave the way for more improved relations between these communities. Also, as those who will eventually grow up to be the policy-makers regarding integration and immigration in Malta

will likely be university degree-holders, it is of particular importance that their higher educational experience includes Values Education.

While experiences at the tertiary level may be the most impactful, not all youths will choose or have the option to attend university. For those, the benefits of Values Education in university classrooms will not be accessible. However, the second most impactful educational level was in *secondary school*. Those with such experience generated the second highest prevalence of positive attitudes at 63.4%. Additionally, those lacking Values Education at this level generated the overall highest prevalence of negative attitudes at 50.0%. This suggests that secondary school classrooms failing to emphasize and apply Values Education consistently more strongly risk the development of negative attitudes.

Moreover, as Malta requires all citizens to complete a secondary cycle of education, this educational level is equally accessible and experienced by the greatest majority of Maltese youths. As such, Values Education at the *secondary* level has the greatest potential to make the most widely experienced positive impact on attitudes. However, the increase in prevalence of these positive attitudes in moving from those who don't have experience with Values Education at this level to those who do is only +13.4%. While just over 65% of participants indicated their experience at this level, a good majority, only seeing a slight increase in positive attitudes here suggests that there is great room for improvement in Values Education at the *secondary* level.

The last test in this section explored the impact of Values Education experiences in one or multiple educational levels. The data demonstrated an increase in the prevalence of positive attitudes as participants indicated their experience with Values Education in a higher number of educational levels. Those with experience in one to three of the four levels have comparable likelihoods of demonstrating positive attitudes from 52.4% to 60% respectively. However, the

prevalence of positive attitudes for those with such experience in all four levels rose dramatically by 40 percentage points compared to those with experience in only three levels. In other words, 100% of participants who experienced Values Education in all four levels indicated positive attitudes towards African migrants.

This data indicates that a multi-leveled approach to Values Education is more successful in positively impacting attitudes than in a single-leveled approach. As such, Values Education is not a pedagogy that need only be experienced in one educational level but should be a consistent focus throughout an individual's entire educational experience. However, as a number of youths will not have access to Values Education at the *tertiary* level, a three-leveled approach is acceptable for making a strong, positive impact at the widest level.

Overall, Values Education is found to be important at all educational levels, especially in the tertiary and secondary level where the greatest potential for impact is demonstrated. Experiences at the tertiary level demonstrate the strongest impact on positive attitudes while such experiences at the secondary level demonstrate the most widely accessible location to make an impact. Such experiences at the primary and post-secondary level have plenty of room to improve and could be good potential sources for further development of positive attitudes towards African migrants among the entire population of Maltese youths. The data indicates that further study should be done to explore the relationship between post-secondary Values Education and attitudes in order to understand how to improve experiences within this level. The best strategy to achieve a significant increase in positive attitudes in Malta is to incorporate a multi-leveled approach emphasizing and applying consistent Values Education efforts in all educational levels.

Investigating Values and Concepts

While Values Education has been demonstrated to have an impact on attitudes here, what aspects of such experiences are responsible? Additional tests explored the relationship between two values and two concepts within Values Education experiences both in and out of schools. The values of *tolerance* and *empathy* were chosen for further investigation as these are foundational in the ethos of Values Education. However, abstract values are not the only focus in Values Education which also seeks to create opportunities for the application of these values in the form of discussions and activities surrounding concepts such as racism and discrimination. These concepts were chosen as they are particularly relevant to the case in Malta regarding attitudes towards African migrants.

The *Chi-Square* crosstab was utilized to determine the relationship between these values and concepts with the attitudes. The most widely experienced item was the value of *tolerance* with 70% of participants indicating such experience in school and 67% outside of school. Those indicating experience with the value of *tolerance* either in or out of schools were more likely to demonstrate positive attitudes with a prevalence of 65.9%. Those without such experience demonstrated negative attitudes slightly more often than positive attitudes. However, the strength of the relationship between the abstract value of *tolerance* and the attitudes scores was determined to be weak and not statistically significant. Thus, even though Values Education experiences emphasizing this value have been widely accessible, they have not been significantly successful in positively impacting attitudes towards African migrants.

The same has been determined for the abstract value of *empathy* as well. While those with such experience have been more likely to demonstrate positive attitudes, this value is not widely experienced with only 41% of participants indicating their familiarity with this item in schools and even fewer, 36%, with experience of it outside of schools. As the value of *empathy*

is one of the most important foundational items in Values Education, it is especially concerning that Values Education experiences in Malta have failed to consistently emphasize this value for young people. The lack of a strong correlation between this value and attitudes is surprising and could indicate that Values Education experiences in Malta require specific improvement in their approach with this value. The first way to achieve this would be to increase the focus and attention given to *empathy* in learning opportunities. The majority of participants have missed out on educational opportunities to discuss and engage with this value which could be contributing to the increased degree of negative attitudes held by a number of participants.

However, the lack of strong correlation between both *tolerance* and *empathy* may be reflective of a different challenge for Values Education. These two values are abstract, and the difference in participant responses regarding abstract attitude questions (such as their *evaluation of diversity as good or bad for Malta*) and the more applied questions (such as their perception of *cultural impacts of African migrants*) has demonstrated that it is easier to support abstract values than it is to apply them. In the case of relations between African migrants and the Maltese community, however, it is essentially important for the application of these values to be a central focus in Values Education.

For this reason, the concepts of discrimination and racism which apply such values were explored. The concept of *racism* was experienced slightly more often with 62% of respondents indicating such experience *in school* and 65% *outside of school*. While such experiences *outside of school* did not demonstrate a strong correlation with attitudes nor were their relationships with attitudes deemed statistically significant, Values Education experiences emphasizing this concept within a classroom setting were shown to have a particularly strong and statistically significant correlation with attitudes.

Those with such experience were 2.5 times more likely to demonstrate positive attitudes towards African migrants than negative while the prevalence of positive attitudes rose 34.3 percentage points between those without and those with such experience. Thus, Values Education experiences that emphasize discussions and activities surrounding the concept of racism have been particularly influential on participants' attitudes. Such experiences have also been fairly widely accessible indicating a general success of Values Education efforts in Malta to bring attention to this concept and the applications of positive, pro-social values through a reflection on racism.

Values Education experiences in Malta have also been rather successful in widely emphasizing discussions and activities which surround the concept of *discrimination* with 61% of participants indicating their experience with this concept both *in* and *out of schools*. While this item experienced *outside of schools* was not found to correlate strongly with attitudes, such experiences within the classroom were determined to be of particular importance and significance in relation to attitudes. Those indicating classroom experience with this concept were nearly 2.5 times more likely to demonstrate positive attitudes while the prevalence of positive attitudes rose 31.3 percentage points between those without and those with such experience.

Thus, the data suggests that Values Education in Malta has had more success positively impacting attitudes towards African migrants through its emphasis on applicable concepts such as *racism* and *discrimination* than through abstract values such as *tolerance* and *empathy*. While these values are critically important to Values Education, the data indicates that a focus on abstract ideals may not be enough to positively impact attitudes here. With the tensions

experienced between these communities, it seems more tangible application of these pro-social values is necessary.

Success stemming from emphasis on these concepts could be the result of a number of factors. A focus on these applied concepts gives young people more opportunities to draw connections between their underlying values and the actual impacts of these values on real people. As indicated earlier, it is easier to believe in abstract ideals than it is to actually apply them or put them into practice. Thus, these connections are not simple to understand nor are they so easily drawn. These require practice and critical reflection for individuals to move past the abstract understanding of values which forms the foundation of Values Education to the application of these values in real-world scenarios.

Concepts such as *racism* and *discrimination* take these underlying values of *tolerance* and *empathy* and demonstrate the benefits and consequences of these values. For example, withholding *empathy* would lead to the negative treatment of others, especially those who are different and in this case, African migrants, which fits the notion of *discrimination*. Values Education experiences which successfully draw connections between underlying values and the potential consequences for the withholding of these pro-social values may move individuals beyond abstract thinking and into cognitive processes which critically reflect on how these values are meaningful in the real world.

Thus, as Values Education experiences in Malta continue to emphasize and widely apply the concepts of *racism* and *discrimination*, they are making a strong and positive impact on youths' attitudes towards African migrants. Perhaps it is the focus on the application of values which is more successful in influencing the formation of attitudes than the experience of thinking abstractly about values alone. This topic will be discussed further in the next chapter.

As such, it is suggested that Values Education is more successful in positively influencing attitudes here when both critical reflection on underlying values and the applications of values are stressed through relevant concepts. Efforts to improve Values Education within Malta should therefore continue to focus on increasing the opportunities for young people to practice and apply abstract values and learn how to connect them to real-world issues.

Investigating the Mitigating Factors

While the previously discussed tests explored the impacts of Values Education on attitudes from a number of angles, it was necessary to compare these impacts with the impacts of potentially mitigating factors. To do so, subsequent tests explored the relationships between attitudes and the various socio-demographic factors. The data presented here shows that Values Education has been significantly important in attitude formation, more so than these other factors.

The first factor explored is that of gender. However, as the sample was not evenly divided between males and females, it is necessary to approach the findings regarding this factor critically. The data demonstrated that females were generally more positive in their attitude responses than males who were more likely to respond with overall negative attitudes. However, the data indicated that this relationship was weak and not statistically significant. Thus, while gender appears to play a role in attitude formation, it is not a significant factor for this study.

The second factor explored was employment status. Participants were asked to indicate their current level of employment with four options: *unemployed*, *seasonally employed*, *employed part-time*, and *employed full-time*. As previous studies discussed in the literature review indicated that negative attitudes may be correlated with feelings of job insecurity, the

attitudes of those employed full-time were compared with those only part-time, seasonally, or unemployed. The data demonstrated that participants were more likely to demonstrate generally positive attitudes despite their employment status. Moreover, those with full-time employment were only 12.6% more likely to respond positively than those without full-time employment. As this relationship did not demonstrate a strong or significant correlation, the data indicates that employment status has not been a significant factor in shaping attitudes towards African migrants for Maltese youths.

The next factor explored was participants' highest level of completed education. Previous studies have presented opposing results regarding this factor's impact on the formation of attitudes towards migrants, thus it was especially important to address for this study. Participants' attitudes were compared between those with and without a university education. The data indicated that those with a university degree were only 15% more likely to demonstrate positive attitudes than those without such a degree. However, both groups still demonstrated a stronger likelihood to exhibit positive attitudes than negative. Additionally, this relationship was not found to strongly correlate with the attitudes, nor was it determined to be statistically significant. Thus, not only does a university experience indicate only a slight increase in positive attitudes, the data reflecting such an impact is likely more reflective of statistical coincidence. This suggests that the level of education alone has not been an important factor in influencing Maltese youths' attitudes towards African migrants.

Additionally, participants' frequency of contact with African migrants was explored in relation to their attitudes towards this group. The majority of participants indicated they *rarely* had contact with African migrants. While a relationship between more frequent contact and more positive attitudes was suggested by the data, this relationship was found to be

insignificant and not particularly influential. However, it did suggest a significant increase in the prevalence of positive responses once the frequency of contact moved from *never* to *rarely*. Those with no contact indicated negative attitudes 80% of the time, the largest frequency of negative responses thus far, while this prevalence dropped to 39.3% once even rare contact was made. This suggests that negative attitudes are easier to develop and maintain when contact with African migrants is nonexistent. Once some kind of direct and personal interaction takes place, these negative attitudes become potentially more difficult to sustain and the prevalence of positive attitudes increases. This suggests a correlation between contact and attitudes but the data does not support the assumption that increased contact with African migrants necessarily improves attitudes.

However, the next factor addressed contact more directly. Participants' evaluation of their contact with African migrants was explored in relation to their attitude scores. Of those experiencing some level of contact, 47% demonstrated a *positive* evaluation of that contact, 31% indicated *neutral*, and only 21% indicated a negative evaluation. The data demonstrated a strong correlation between evaluation of contact and attitudes in which those with positive evaluations were much more likely to demonstrate positive attitudes while those with negative contact were greatly more likely to exhibit negative attitudes. Those answering *neutral* were nearly 41% more likely to demonstrate positive attitudes than those with negative evaluations who indicated negative attitudes nearly 91% of the time.

Moreover, this relationship was shown to be particularly strong and statistically significant. This indicates the strength of influence that positive and negative contact with African migrants can have on shaping attitudes regarding this group. The data demonstrates that such contact has been a strong factor in attitude formation for Maltese youth regarding this

group. To bring this to Values Education, one potential strategy for capitalizing on the strength of this impact would be to create Values Education activities which allow for opportunities for Maltese youths and African migrants to engage in positive and constructive contact. As the data indicates that negative contact can be slightly more damaging to attitudes than the positive impact of good contact, it is essential that such activities involving contact are designed appropriately.

Comparing the Impact of Relevant Factors

This final text explored a combination of all of the factors that have demonstrated moderate or strong and statistically significant relationships with the attitude scores to compare their individual impacts. A *multiple regression* test involving the frequency of Values Education experience, such experiences within schools, those at the tertiary level, those in school involving the concepts of discrimination and of racism, and participants' evaluation of their contact with African migrants was performed. While obtaining a university degree was not shown to be significant to attitude formation, the question regarding education and attitudes is important to this study. For this reason, this factor was included in the final regression.

The data indicated that these variables combined were significantly important in relation to attitudes. The R value at [0.76] indicated a strong correlation between these values and the attitudes while the R^2 indicated that 57% of the variation in the attitude scores can be attributed to the impact of these variables. Moreover, the relationship between these values combined and the attitudes was determined to be statistically significant, and not discovered by coincidence. Each item will be discussed in order of their impact on the attitudes with the strongest presented first.

The item with the strongest impact on the attitudes is Values Education activities in schools which emphasize the concept of *discrimination*. This item received the strongest *beta* score of [1.01] meaning that attitude scores increased by an entire evaluation level between those without and those with this experience. The *P* value generated for this item was [0.01] indicating an especially significant relationship as this score falls well below the [0.05] threshold for significance. This data demonstrates that a Values Education activity within the classroom setting which involves a reflection on and the application of the concept of discrimination is the single most effective factor within this study to significantly and positively improve attitudes towards African migrants in Malta.

Additionally, the second strongest impact on attitudes was the result of experiences involving the concept of *racism*. This item received a *beta* score of [0.85] and a *P* value of [0.03] indicating a significant and noticeable impact on improving attitudes. As indicated in previous tests, these concepts are likely effective because of their focus on applying positive, pro-social values to real-world scenarios beyond abstract thought. Abstract thought is helpful in encouraging individuals to accept pro-social values. This has been seen by the incredibly high prevalence of positive attitudes towards the concept of diversity within Malta.

However, concepts such as these likely make such an impact because of their ability to 'give a face' to these values. Activities and discussions regarding these concepts inevitably include a regard for other people thus humanizing an abstract value of tolerance or empathy and making it more tangible. For this reason, Values Education activities which seek to repair the relationship between Maltese youths and African migrants must also focus on a humanizing approach more so than abstract values-focus alone. Thus, in order to further improve Values Education in Malta, an emphasis should be placed on practice engaging with such concepts,

especially discrimination and racism. This would yield a strong impact on attitudes in a positive direction.

The next most influential factor was Values Education within schools. This item received a *beta* score of [0.78] and a *P* value of [0.04] indicating a strong and significant relationship. Values Education in schools has been particularly influential in shaping attitudes and has been shown to be the best location for young people to engage with influential values and concepts. However, nearly a third of participants indicated they lacked experience with Values Education in school, thus minimizing the total positive impact of such experiences in this location. In order to make the strongest impact, it has been shown that Values Education should be consistently and widely applied allowing all young people to experience opportunities for engaging with and reflecting on important values and relevant concepts. As such, it is essential for schools in Malta, both government- and privately-run, to maintain an underlying focus on Values Education within the classroom. Such a consistent and wide application of Values Education, especially those activities with a strong focus on concepts such as racism and discrimination, could greatly and positively impact Maltese youths' attitudes towards African migrants.

Participants' evaluation of their contact with African migrants was determined to be the next most influential factor in relation to their attitude scores. This item received a beta score of [0.70] and a *P* value of [0.00] indicating a moderate and statistically significant relationship. As participant evaluations of their contact with African migrants increase by a single unit (e. g. from *neutral* to *slightly positive*), their average attitude scores increased by [0.7]. As this evaluation was not demonstrated to have a stronger impact than the concepts of discrimination or racism and the experience of Values Education in school, it is shown that Values Education and related activities can be more influential in shaping attitudes than contact alone.

As such, for Values Education to have a more positive impact, it should include opportunities for positive and constructive contact between members of these communities. However, positive contact alone may not have as strong of an impact on attitudes than constructive contact within a Values Education setting. While both positive contact and Values Education should each be a focus of society in Malta to improve relations between these communities, their combined effort could exponentially improve youths attitudes.

Additionally, Values Education at the tertiary level was determined to be the next most influential factor in relation to attitudes with a *beta* score of [0.75], indicating such experience increased participants' attitude scores significantly. However, the *P* value at [0.08] indicated that the relationship between such experiences at the tertiary level and attitudes may not be as significant as the connection between attitudes and the other factors addressed here. As such, while experience with Values Education in university has the potential to noticeably improve attitudes, the data suggests instead that other factors are playing a stronger role. Such experiences should still be emphasized in universities for their ability to positively impact attitudes, but for those seeking to improve Values Education in Malta, perhaps focusing first on the previously discussed factors addressed here would be the most effective strategy. Thus, experiences at the tertiary level could become more impactful if they include a focus on the relevant concepts discussed.

While the frequency of participants' experience with Values Education has been shown to positively impact their attitudes towards African migrants, this item ranked lower on the list of relevant factors in this study. It received a *beta* score of [0.26] indicating only a slight increase on average in attitude scores as participants' experience rose from one frequency level to the next. The *P* value at [0.08] suggests that this factor is less significant than the previous ones.

Thus, the data indicates that while increasing the frequency of Values Education does positively impact attitudes, less frequent rates of such experiences can still be meaningful and significant.

To maximize the impact of Values Education for those who don't frequently experience such activities, program designs should be especially thoughtful and strategic. For example, as has been indicated, by including certain concepts and allowing for young people to practice applying these concepts, less frequent experiences with Values Education can still affect youths' ability to think critically about values beyond their abstract conception. This could allow for the development of positive attitudes despite fewer opportunities to participate in Values Education activities.

Lastly, the impact of having a university degree and demonstrating a higher level of completed education was explored in order to compare the strength of this relationship with other factors. As the level of education has been shown to have inconsistent impacts on attitudes towards immigrants in previous studies, it is especially interesting and relevant for this study which explores a specific educational approach. This item received a beta score of [0.26] indicating a comparable increase in attitudes as the frequency of Values Education. However, the P value at [0.52] demonstrated that this relationship is not statistically significant. As such, while it is possible that such an education may increase positive attitudes, the data did not support the assumption that higher education alone was a significant factor in shaping attitudes in Malta. Additionally, in comparing the impact of a non-descript university education in Malta with a more specific focus on Values Education at the university level, Values Education had a much more significant and noticeable impact on youths' attitudes indicating that it is not education alone which influences such attitude formations, but perhaps a specific educational approach which is successful in this regard.

Concluding Remarks

Overall, the data demonstrated a significant relationship between Values Education and Maltese youths' attitudes towards African migrants in Malta. The strongest impact can be made by Values Education in schools which emphasize a focus on concepts that apply the underlying abstract values. While it is easier to theoretically support and believe in abstract values, this study has indicated that the application of these values in real-world scenarios, such as in the formation of attitudes towards African migrants, is more difficult. As such, Values Education can have a stronger positive impact on such attitudes through activities which create opportunities for young people to engage with pro-social values beyond their abstract conception.

While Values Education at the tertiary level has the strongest potential to impact attitudes in school settings, such experiences at the secondary level are still significant and are the most widely accessible. As such Values Education emphasized in both levels could have a considerably positive impact on attitudes. Additionally, such experiences in all four levels of education have been shown to generate the strongest prevalence of positive attitudes. While those youths who do not attend university will not have access to Values Education in all four levels, such in the three remaining educational levels are still sufficient and significant in their impact on attitudes.

Lastly, it has been shown that positive contact with migrants can also significantly impact attitudes. In order for Values Education to capitalize on this impact, thoughtfully designed programming and activities including opportunities for constructive contact between members of these communities could have a much stronger and significant impact on the development of positive attitudes towards African migrants. Additionally, including contact in professionally designed programming, such as in Values Education, could ensure that such

contact is likely to be well received and constructive. As negative contact can impact attitudes slightly more significantly than positive contact can, it is essential that such opportunities within Values Education activities be appropriately designed.

Values Education as a pedagogy and educational ethos has proven to be a source of positive attitude development in Malta. A stronger and more widely applied emphasis on Values Education allowing for such experiences to be accessible to all youths in at least a moderate level could significantly and positively improve attitudes towards African migrants. As more positive attitudes are necessary for relations to improve between these communities, moderate to frequent Values Education could be a potential catalyst for social community-building, an important first-step towards increased integration opportunities between African migrants and the Maltese community.

Synthesis

The purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between Values Education in Malta and Maltese youths' attitudes towards African migrants. The general assumption of this study, which has been tested using the research methods outlined in the Methodology chapter, is that Values Education can positively impact such attitudes and thus act as a tool for improving the relationship between these two communities thus improving future opportunities for their successful integration. This chapter continues the academic conversation on this topic by synthesizing the findings and results of this study within the existing literature. Values Education experience has been shown here to be significantly correlated with more positive attitudes both in prevalence and strength. However, this finding alone does not indicate *how* or *why* such experiences make an impact.

This chapter discusses the various factors and aspects of Values Education more deeply in five sections each addressing interesting findings and grounding them in existing literature. The first section discusses the strength of attitude responses. While positive overall attitudes were more common, negative attitudes were held much more strongly. This subsection discusses possible explanations for the contrasting strength of attitudes by using values theory. It is argued that attitudes formed through mechanisms and processes of fear may be stronger than others. Values Education experiences may mitigate the prevalence and effect of such fears allowing individuals to form more positive attitudes.

The second section discusses the differences in attitudes in relation to questions which address perceptions of more abstract impacts African migrants are having in Malta versus questions which address specific examples of such impacts. For example, participants expressed generally negative attitudes regarding broad economic impacts while their attitudes became more positive when considering a specific impact such as the potential for increased job competition. While negative attitudes towards economic impacts tend to be attributed to economic theories such as the labor-market competition theory, it is suggested here that Values Education may be mitigating the negative effect of such attitude drivers. Instead, individuals learn to think critically beyond such fears and look for the necessary justification for negative arguments against immigrant groups.

In contrast, participants expressed more positive attitudes regarding broad impacts of African migrants on the living space of Malta and negative attitudes towards a specific impact, the effect on crime rates. It is suggested here that other drivers such as the media have increased the prevalence of such negative attitudes by portraying members of this group as illegals and criminals. Values Education in Malta may be competing against such drivers in the process of attitude formation and failing to make the stronger, positive impact.

The third section similarly addresses the difference in attitudes as a result of experience with abstract values (such as tolerance and empathy) and concrete concepts (such as discrimination and racism). While abstract values are essential in Values Education, this study demonstrated a stronger impact on attitudes as a result of experience with concrete concepts. Relating these values and concepts to Rokeach's instrumental and terminal values, this section shows that concrete concepts may be more successful in influencing positive attitude formation in that they provide the necessary rationale and logic behind society's definition of desirable

and undesirable attitudes and behaviors. This section shows that attitudes formed through Values Education tend to be created through cognitive, rather than affective, processes. Thus, an informed and reasoned understanding of values will be the most effective.

The fourth section discusses the finding that Values Education in the classroom was more significantly related to positive attitudes towards African migrants than such experiences in other locations. It is argued here that the classroom is a prime and important space for influencing students' attitudes and behaviors through a number of processes. Additionally, the classroom represents a microcosm of society in which challenging social relationships and lessons experienced in this space will easily translate to adult life. As such, Values Education experiences in school are likely the most successful in positively impacting attitudes as the classroom is already an important and significant space for positive and pro-social attitude formation.

The final section of this chapter addresses the contradictory arguments in existing literature regarding the impact of a higher education on attitudes towards immigrants. Some studies have demonstrated a positive correlation between a higher education and more positive attitudes, though they have supported their arguments with different theories. Others have been unable to support this argument or have even indicated the risks of a higher education. This study furthered the current knowledge by examining a specific educational approach in Values Education. Such an approach demonstrated a significant correlation while a non-descript university education did not. As such, this section discusses this finding and argues that perhaps it is not education alone that positively affects attitudes, but a specific educational pedagogy that is successful in this effort.

These general findings are not only interesting ‘per se’ but they help to further our understanding of Values Education as a pedagogy and educational approach. Additionally, the academic conversation regarding different aspects of Values Education is furthered as the discussions below explore *why* and *how* Values Education is influential in forming positive attitudes. The following sections will address these conversations in order to build a more dynamic understanding of this phenomenon.

Attitude Strength

One of the first things that stood out in the survey responses was that while neutral and positive attitudes combined were more common than negative attitudes, the strength of negative attitudes was much stronger. Participants who indicated negative attitudes generally chose *strongly negative* or *negative* while those who indicated positive attitudes generally chose only *slightly positive*. As noted in the previous sections, this brought the average attitude scores down below *neutral* and into *slightly negative*. *Why is it that negative attitudes here, while less common, are stronger than others?*

Other studies examining attitudes towards migrants have experienced similar results. A European study by Constant et al found that negative attitudes were more strongly held than positive attitudes with a significant number of respondents indicating *very negative* attitudes and no respondents indicating *very positive*.²⁴⁰ While the focus of this and similar studies did not include an exploration of why negative attitudes may be stronger than positive attitudes, it is suggested that such strength of negative attitudes may be the result of the fears which incite them. Hainmueller and Hiscox indicated that such negative attitudes are powerfully associated

²⁴⁰ Constant, A. F., et al (2008). Attitudes towards Immigrants, Other Integration Barriers, and their Veracity. *Institute for the Study of Labor*: 5

with perceptions of threat.²⁴¹ This threat may relate to perceived economic, political, or cultural fears and can easily trigger negative attitudes towards migrants.²⁴² Perhaps this fear is more motivating in the formation of negative attitudes than are factors which influence the formation of positive attitudes.

Another possible explanation for the difference in positive and negative attitude strengths can be found in values theory. The process of values activation occurs when a value is linked to the formation of an attitude towards a specific object. For example, when choosing between studying or going out with friends, values related to ambition and maintaining friendships are activated as they directly relate to the formation of the individual's attitude towards their choice in this scenario.²⁴³ Schwartz argued that values are essentially beliefs tied to affect and that "when values are activated, they become infused with feeling."²⁴⁴ It is this connection to emotion in activated values which gives them a stronger impact on the development of attitudes.²⁴⁵ In other words, when a value is activated it can more strongly influence the kind of attitude an individual develops towards the related object.

However, in order for a value to be activated it must be relevant and directly linked to a specific attitude. Values such as universalism, security, and tradition are particularly relevant to attitudes towards migrants. A joint study by Sagiv and Schwartz in Israel found that universalism values are strongly linked to the formation of positive attitudes towards the 'other' while

²⁴¹ Hainmueller, J., and Hiscox, M.J. (2007). Educated preferences: Explaining attitudes toward immigration in Europe. *International Organization* 61(2), pp. 399-442.

²⁴² Constant, A. F., et al (2008): 4

²⁴³ Verplanken, B., & Holland, R. W. (2002). Motivated Decision Making: Effects of Activation and Self-Centrality of Values on Choices and Behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82(3), 434-447: 436

²⁴⁴ Schwartz, S. H. (2012). An Overview of the Schwartz Theory of Basic Values. *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture*, 2(1): 3

²⁴⁵ Davidov, E., et. al.(2014). Individual Values, Cultural Embeddedness, and Anti-Immigration Sentiments: Explaining Differences in the Effect of Values on Attitudes Toward Immigration Across Europe. *Kölner Zeitschrift Für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, 66(1), 263-285: 267

tradition and security values are linked to the formation of negative attitudes.²⁴⁶ Thus, certain values lend themselves to the formation of either positive or negative attitudes towards the other.

The importance individuals give to certain values over others will thus influence the kinds of attitudes they form. Schwartz argues that people tend to adapt their value-priorities to their life circumstances.²⁴⁷ Typically, the importance of a value increases if the individual believes it is easily attainable whereas values which are blocked tend to be downgraded in importance (direct values activation). However, the opposite is true when values are related to material well-being, such as power and security. When these values are blocked, their importance increases making them a stronger influence on attitudes (inverse values activation). For example, Inglehart argues that individuals who are affected by economic hardships or social upheavals will give more importance to power and security values than those who feel comfortable and safe in their daily lives.²⁴⁸

Value-priorities can shift in light of more sudden social circumstances as well. For example, a new job offer may activate and increase the importance of achievement values (direct values activation) while a car accident may activate and increase the importance of security values (inverse values activation).²⁴⁹ In the case of Malta, the sudden and significant increase in arrivals of asylum-seekers from the African continent may have activated values related to security and tradition. Fears related to perceived cultural threats can increase the

²⁴⁶ Sagiv, L., & Schwartz, S. H. (1995). Value Priorities and Readiness for Out-Group Social Contact. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 69:437–448

²⁴⁷ Schwartz, S. H. (2006). Basic human values: Theory, measurement, and applications. *Revue française de sociologie*, 47.4: 249-288: 253

²⁴⁸ Inglehart, R. (1997). *Modernization and Postmodernization*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

²⁴⁹ Schwartz, S. H. (2006): 260

importance of tradition values while security values can be made more important in the face of perceived threats to the economy and crime rates.

As these values increase in importance, the value-priorities held by individuals adjust. Schwartz's values theory argues that certain values lie in opposition, or in competition, with each other. For example, universalism values tend to conflict with security and tradition values.²⁵⁰ As the importance given to security and tradition increases, the preference for universalism values decreases. This is necessary to note because if the importance of security and tradition values in Malta is increasing in response to a sudden event, such as the arrival of African migrants, then the importance being given to universalism values (such as tolerance, diversity, and equality) is decreasing. As fear drives the shifting of values, the potential for peaceful relations between the two communities is hindered.

However, these fears are generally unfounded and are the result of narrow stereotypes. For example, numerous participants in this and other studies have expressed negative attitudes regarding the perceived economic impacts of migrants. This directly contradicts the reality of migrant impacts on the economy. As demonstrated by the World Bank, immigration actually boosts incomes for both the sending and receiving countries indicating an overall positive economic impact.²⁵¹ Additional studies have indicated similarly in regards to impacts on crime in which the estimated effect of immigration on crime rates was not significantly different from zero.²⁵²

²⁵⁰ Schwartz, S. H. (2012). An Overview of the Schwartz Theory of Basic Values. *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture*, 2(1).

²⁵¹ Tuck-Primdahl, M. J. (2014). Migration and Remittances. *The World Bank*.

²⁵² De Phillips, M. (2009). Media impact on natives' attitudes towards immigration. *Universit`a Commerciale Luigi Bocconi*: 12

While it has been demonstrated that negative attitudes toward migrants are often the result of fear and perceptions of threat, the activation of values such as security and tradition based on such fears may make them even more powerful in the formation of attitudes. In a study exploring the role of value activation and attitude strength, Ostrom and Brock showed that the importance of a value will affect its influence on the development and strength of an attitude towards a relevant object.²⁵³ Attitudes formed by strongly held values were more resistant to change than those formed by less strongly held values.

Bringing this to the situation observed here in Malta, the strength of negative attitudes over positive ones may be the result of the activation and increasing importance of values such as security and tradition. These two values may be threatened, and thus inversely activated, by the arrival of African migrants. As such, those whose values shift towards security and tradition due to perceived threats will likely develop stronger, and more negative, attitudes towards the threatening group than others. Those who do not feel threatened by the arrival of African migrants will not see the same shift in value priorities towards security and tradition and thus, will not experience the same drive towards attitude formation. Without such a powerful motivator as fear, positive attitudes formed towards African migrants may be less extreme than their negative counterparts.

While this interpretation of values and attitude strength is interesting, it is important for the purpose of this study to bring the conversation back to the topic of Values Education. Values Education activities specifically aim to emphasize values which increase the well-being of the self and others. Values such as universalism are therefore stressed for their ability to instill more tolerant and empathetic attitudes which positively affect that well-being.

²⁵³ Ostrom, T.M., & Brock, T.C. (1969). Cognitive Bonding to Central Values and Resistance to a Communication Advocating Change in Policy Orientation. *Journal of Experimental Research in Personality*, 4, 42-50.

Additionally, such positive values and attitudes may be able to limit the prevalence and influence of the Maltese community's perceived threats and resulting fears of out-groups, such as African migrants. Since these fears are an important driver of negative attitude formation, limiting such fears could also hinder this process allowing individuals to remain more positive in their perspectives of others. As indicated in the Israeli study, universalism values are particularly successful in preparing individuals to engage positively with, rather than fear, out-groups or those who are different. As such, Values Education activities in their emphasis on universalism, tolerance, and empathy may be able to combat the formation of strong negative attitudes as experienced individuals are less affected by narrow and stereotypical fears regarding migrant groups. For this reason, Values Education is a strong potential solution to the issues surrounding discrimination and obstacles to integration.

Attitudes of Abstract versus Specific Impacts

Another finding that stood out was the difference in attitudes towards abstract and actual impacts of African migrants. When considering abstract economic impacts, participants generally responded more negatively with more than half indicating that African migrants would negatively impact the Maltese economy. However, as noted in the previous section, immigrants tend to have a generally positive impact on the local economy,²⁵⁴ indicating that such fears regarding economic threats are not based on actual impacts but on misperceptions of such. In contrast, when respondents considered a more specific example of a potential impact, such as increased competition for jobs, attitudes were generally more positive with fewer people indicating a perceived negative impact.

²⁵⁴ Tuck-Primdahl, M. J. (2014).

Economic concerns have been one focus of contemporary research studying attitude drivers. A number of the top economic fears regarding the perceived impacts of immigrants include an increased competition for jobs, a rise in unemployment, and the reduction of wages.²⁵⁵ The standard finding is that individuals from lower socioeconomic backgrounds tend to be more affected by such fears as they are more likely to be in direct economic competition with the typical incoming low-skilled migrants.²⁵⁶ Termed the labor-market competition theory, it is suggested that individuals who are unemployed, low-skilled, or earn a lower income will develop more negative attitudes towards immigrants than individuals from higher socioeconomic backgrounds (e. g. stable employment, higher-wage, etc).²⁵⁷

Previous studies have specifically addressed the labor-market competition theory in order to determine to what extent economic fears are driving the formation of such negative attitudes towards migrants. Some studies have found that there is a definitive link between these variables as participants from higher socioeconomic backgrounds demonstrate more positive attitudes.^{258,259} However, others have been unable to support these findings as participants are shown to demonstrate comparable attitudes despite their socioeconomic backgrounds.^{260,261}

This study has demonstrated slightly unexpected findings. While the labor-market competition theory assumes that economically vulnerable members of local populations will

²⁵⁵ Espenshade, T. J., & Calhoun, C. A. (1993). An Analysis of Public Opinion toward Undocumented Immigration. *Population Research and Policy Review*, 12(3), 189-224: 193

²⁵⁶ Simon, R. J. (1987). Immigration and American attitudes, *Public Opinion* 10: 47-50.

²⁵⁷ Abowd, J. M. & Freeman, R. B., eds. (1991). *Immigration, Trade, and the Labor Market*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

²⁵⁸ Tarrance and Associates (1989). *Research report: California immigration survey*, April 1989. Houston, TX.

²⁵⁹ Day, C. L. (1990). Ethnocentrism, economic competition, and attitudes toward US immigration policy. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 5-7.

²⁶⁰ Morris, M. D. (1985). *Immigration: The beleaguered bureaucracy*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

²⁶¹ Brenner, J. & Fertig, M. (2006). Identifying the Determinants of Attitudes towards Immigrants: A Structural Cross-Country Analysis. *Institute for the Study of Labor*: 3

develop both broad economic concerns and specific fears, such as increased job competition, this study only demonstrated an overall negative response towards perceived broad economic impacts. Both those with full-time employment and those without demonstrated negative attitudes here. However, attitude scores improved and became more positive when participants' considered the perceived impact of African migrants on jobs in Malta. Thus, participants did not follow the typical pattern of negative attitudes as assumed by the labor-market competition theory.

As previous studies did not demonstrate consistent results, it is important to apply the labor-market competition theory with caution. When considering the inconsistency in findings from study to study, Moore suggested that perhaps socioeconomic status is overshadowing other relevant factors which are contributing to attitude formation. He concluded instead it is an individual's knowledge or expertise of immigration that influences the formation of attitudes, specifically that greater knowledge contributes to an increase in pro-immigration attitudes.²⁶² It is suggested that individuals with a higher socioeconomic status (including more education, the development of higher skills, and more prestigious employment positions) may have more opportunities to educate themselves on immigration thus improving their knowledge on the topic and their subsequent attitudes towards migrants.

Such education is the general goal of Values Education programs. While possibly not specifically addressing immigration as a concept, such activities stress related values such as tolerance and empathy and the application of related concepts such as discrimination and racism. It is possible that Values Education in Malta, through its successful application of

²⁶² Moore, S. (1986). Social scientists' views on immigrants and US immigration policy: A postscript, pp. 213-217 in: R. J. Simon (ed.), Immigration and American public policy, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 487. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

relevant concepts is having a mitigating effect on the impact economic concerns are making on attitude formation. Whereas previous studies have shown overall negative attitudes regarding all economic impacts held by those from a lower socioeconomic background, this study has demonstrated negative attitudes for only broad, and not specific, economic concerns despite participants' employment status.

Values Education activities aim to do more than simply discuss positive values. As individuals participate in such activities, the discussion and application of values promote the development of a critical mind and the capacity for moral reasoning.²⁶³ The ability to think critically allows individuals to consider potential concepts or issues beyond the prescribed definition of others. For example, if media sources are constantly pointing to immigration as a social-ill without offering appropriate justification, those with a strong critical mind will be less swayed by such narrow arguments. As such, critical-thinking is an important emphasis in Values Education programs aimed at developing youth into adults who will question stereotypical arguments and arrive at more tolerant and accepting attitudes towards others.

Despite socioeconomic backgrounds of the participants, attitudes towards specific fears regarding a potential increase in job competition were more positive than overall broad economic concerns expressed. This could indicate that other economic concerns such as a drop in wages or working conditions may be contributing to overall economic fears more so than a concern regarding jobs. This could also indicate that experience with Values Education has encouraged participants to look further than narrow arguments against African migrants. For

²⁶³ Halstead, J. M., & Taylor, M. J. (2000). Learning and Teaching about Values: A Review of Recent Research. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 30(2), 169–202.

example, the rate of unemployment in Malta has decreased from 7.7% in 2003 to 5.7% in 2015.²⁶⁴

Throughout this period, African migrants continued to arrive in Malta. While a hasty consideration of economic impacts may lead individuals to form negative attitudes out of fear, perhaps Values Education, which correlated significantly with attitudes regarding the impact on jobs, has given individuals the necessary cognitive tools to look past narrow, hasty arguments and search for further proof or justification for these arguments. As African migrants have not negatively impacted employment rates in Malta (which have instead improved), a closer examination of such impacts would reveal the discrepancy between stereotypical arguments against African migrants and the reality of their actual economic impacts.

While this study showed that Values Education does make a significant an impact on attitudes, employment status was not determined to be a strong or significant driver of attitudes. As such, the labor-market competition theory does not stand as an explanation for attitudes regarding perceived economic impacts. It is possible that this is due to a fault in the theory itself, as is implied by the inconsistent findings applying this theory in previous studies. It is also possible that Values Education is actually mitigating the effect of this as a driver of attitudes. As such, it could explain the difference in negative attitude responses between broad economic concerns and more specific fears regarding an increase in job competition.

In addition to the unexpected pattern of attitude responses regarding economic impacts, participants demonstrated a shift in attitudes between perceived impacts on the living space of Malta and crime. However, unlike economic attitudes where participants were more positive regarding a specific impact example, such as job competition, attitudes formed around

²⁶⁴ "Malta Unemployment Rate." (2015). *Trading Economics*.

the impacts on Malta as a living space were more positive in a broad conception. When reflecting on the broad impacts African migrants are making on Malta as a place to live, participants were generally more positive, but when asked about a specific example, how this group affects the crime rate, the prevalence of positive responses dropped. This shows that participants hold stronger negative attitudes regarding the impact on crime rates than they do on the potential impact on life in Malta overall.

This could indicate that while participants fear African migrants will commit crime, they do not see this as a major detriment to life in Malta. This would explain the variation in attitudes regarding strongly negative impacts on crime and less negative impacts on life overall in Malta. Perhaps participants have formed negative attitudes regarding the impact on crime rates based on the influence of other attitude drivers but have not felt personally affected by this assumed increase in criminal behavior and have not subsequently developed a similarly strong negative attitude regarding the impact on life in Malta.

Other drivers of attitudes that may be having a stronger impact on the formation of attitudes regarding African migrants and crime could be present in the effect the media has on the greater public. Since the boats filled with African asylum-seekers began arriving in Maltese waters, stories regarding these migrants have been commonly presented by the various media outlets. The terms used to describe this group has varied with many outlets publishing articles which describe them as 'illegal',^{265,266} or 'klandestini,' a Maltese term with a negative connotation.²⁶⁷ These terms are misleading as they refer to individually who have entered the

²⁶⁵ Freeman, C. (2013). "EU immigration: 'Malta is the smallest state, and we are carrying a burden that is much bigger than any other country'." *The Telegraph*.

²⁶⁶ Diacono, T. (2014). "Crowds of Maltese people march through Valletta to protest against the threat of illegal immigration." *Malta Today*.

²⁶⁷ Debattista, M. (2014). "Illegal Immigration in Malta." *Living in Malta*.

country without the proper visas or papers, not to those who are seeking asylum or refugee status.²⁶⁸

The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance created a report on the situation in Malta including their comments regarding the role of the media in instigating hatred. They argued that the interchangeable use of terms like ‘illegal migrants’, ‘asylum-seekers’, and ‘refugees’ in the media has created confusion and misperceptions towards this group in public opinion.²⁶⁹

Additionally, media outlets have emphasized the policy of detention for incoming African asylum-seekers making connections between this group and criminality.²⁷⁰ Jon Hoisaeter, the UNHCR representative to Malta, argued that a national policy which requires these individuals to be held behind bars induces a public perception that these migrants are criminals while Robert Callus, a spokesman for the political party Alternattiva Demokratika, noted that the first real reports of these individuals presented them in handcuffs.²⁷¹

References to criminality have also been more explicitly made by media outlets. . For example, following a violent riot in the Safi detention center, sensationalized media reports broadcasted footage of the 23 migrant defendants being “ushered in the tribunal through the front door (instead of the back door)...while handcuffed in groups of two and wearing tattered clothing;.”²⁷² Such footage perpetuates the image of African asylum-seekers as violent criminals who must be handcuffed and removed from the greater Maltese society.

²⁶⁸ UNHCR. (2014). *#knowthefacts: A toolkit on asylum and migration for Maltese MEP candidates*: 13

²⁶⁹ ECRI Report on Malta. (2013). *European Commission against Racism and Intolerance*: 25

²⁷⁰ Cooke, P. (2014). “Detention policy fuels negative perceptions.” *Times of Malta*.

²⁷¹ Ibid

²⁷² ECRI Report on Malta. (2013).

Some media outlets have begun to cover stories of African migrants from a more neutral standpoint. A few have even drawn specific attention to the difference between illegal immigrants and asylum-seekers.²⁷³ One media outlet in particular, the Times of Malta, has been noticeably reversing the trend to reference African migrants as 'illegal' by using more neutral terminology such as 'irregular' migrants. However, important political figures such as the Prime Minister, Joseph Muscat, have continued to openly refer to such migrants from this group as 'illegal' as recently as 2013 perpetuating the notion that these individuals are criminals.²⁷⁴

However, fears regarding African migrants' impacts on crime may be unfounded. Between 2007 and 2012, crime in Malta actually dropped by 27%²⁷⁵ though attitudes regarding crime have not reflected this. In a study of the local community's perceptions and beliefs regarding crime in Malta, 63% of participants expressed the belief that crime rates increased in that time.²⁷⁶ This indicates that attitudes regarding crime rates are based on misperceptions rather than actual statistics. Some other driver must be responsible for the formation of these attitudes.

The role of media as a driver of attitudes towards immigrants has been a popular topic of study. Some research has supported the argument that even subtle shifts in terminology in a news story can have a noticeable impact on the public's conception of immigrants.²⁷⁷ As such, the use of negative terms such as illegal and 'klandestini' in media references to African migrants may be negatively impacting the process of attitude formation in Malta.

²⁷³ "Are asylum seekers illegal immigrants?" (2013). *The Independent*.

²⁷⁴ "Irregular use of 'illegal immigrant' is back." (2013). *The Independent*.

²⁷⁵ Crime Statistics. (2014). *Eurostat*.

²⁷⁶ "Malta Crime Stats." (2015). *NationMaster*.

²⁷⁷ Jeannet, A. M. & Blinder, S. (2014). Numbers and Waves: The Effects of Media Portrayals of Immigrants on Public Opinion in Britain. Oxford Martin School, *University of Oxford*.

Others have suggested that there is a causal relationship between the media and local attitudes as such outlets help their audience develop a better understanding of both the economic and social consequences of immigration.²⁷⁸ Stories in Malta which portray African migrants in handcuffs may be ‘helping’ local communities understand the social implications of this group on crime rates and instigate the formation of negative attitudes surrounding this impact.

Others have argued instead that audience members have a tendency to choose media outlets to give their attention to in a process of self-selection.²⁷⁹ Media sources are likely to choose stories and angles that are consistent with their audience in order to boost profits.²⁸⁰ Thus, the terminology or angles used by media outlets may be more reflective of existing attitudes in their audience rather than drivers of attitude formation. If that is the case, then the attitudes presented in media articles regarding African migrants as criminals may be more reflective of existing fears rather than a driver of such fears.

While the effect of the media on the formation of attitudes towards immigrants is still uncertain, enough evidence suggests that a relationship does exist. The portrayal of African migrants as illegal and hand-cuffed criminals requiring detention has likely had a negative effect on the local community’s perception of this group, inciting fear and misperceptions. Participants’ experience with Values Education here did not have an effect on their attitudes regarding the impacts on crime. This indicates that other forces beyond Values Education are responsible for the formation of such attitudes.

²⁷⁸ De Phillips, M. (2009). Media impact on natives’ attitudes towards immigration. *Universit’a Commerciale Luigi Bocconi*: 53

²⁷⁹ Baum, M. A. (2011). Red State, Blue State, Flu State: Media Self-Selection and Partisan Gaps in Swine Flu Vaccinations. *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*, 36(6), pp 1021-1059: 1054

²⁸⁰ De Phillips, M. (2009): 52

There are a number of possible explanations that can be considered here. It is possible that Values Education activities *should* be making an impact on such attitudes when carried out correctly and that such programs in Malta require improvement to be effective here. It is also possible that Values Education serves more to mitigate existing attitude drivers, such as negative media portrayals or theories such as the labor-market competition. If this is the case, Values Education activities are in competition with other attitude drivers and require a stronger impact than these to effectively increase the prevalence of positive attitudes towards immigrant groups such as African migrants.

Perhaps the role of the media in driving attitudes is stronger in Malta than Values Education as a driver and so negative attitudes regarding crime are persisting despite a decrease in crime rates. If this is the case, it may suggest that attitude drivers such as the media, economic theories, and Values Education affect the process of attitude formation with different strengths of impacts. For example, it seems that the media has more strongly affected attitudes regarding crime rates than Values Education, but that economic drivers such as the labor-market competition theory have been weaker than Values Education in shaping attitudes towards perceived economic impacts.

Further studies on these drivers could reveal which are strongest in Malta thus indicating which are the more formidable competitive drivers negating the positive impacts of Values Education. This would allow program designs to better prepare for such competition and increase the likelihood that young learners will be able to develop more positive attitudes towards African migrants despite the influence of these negative drivers within their communities.

Experience with Abstract and Concrete Values

The previous section discussed the differences in attitudes formed in relation to abstract and concrete conceptions of African migrants and their perceived impacts on life in Malta. This study also demonstrated an interesting finding in relation to the different attitudes formed following experience with abstract values, such as tolerance and empathy, and concrete concepts, such as discrimination and racism. These four items were chosen for further examination as these are particularly relevant to the relationship between African migrants and the greater Maltese community. Values of tolerance and empathy are needed for Maltese youth to develop positive attitudes towards others while African migrants have indicated their perceived experiences of discrimination and racism in Malta.

While the value of tolerance was the most widely experienced, activities emphasizing the value of empathy were the least common. As the creation of an empathetic character is one of the most important aspects of Values Education,²⁸¹ it is interesting to note that this value was so rarely experienced here or that such experiences were not explicit enough as to make them recognizable to the participants. Various Values Education definitions and programs have stressed the promotion of tolerance and empathy as the utmost important aspects of this pedagogy. These values stand as the foundation upon which positive attitudes and behaviors are formed.

Such values are very similar to instrumental values as discussed in the literature review. Rokeach's conception of values distinguished between terminal and instrumental values. Terminal values, such as equality, freedom, and recognition, refer to desirable states of

²⁸¹ Ibid, 23

existence or end goals for individuals or societies.²⁸² Instrumental values, such as honesty, ambition, and competitiveness, are core values which comprise personal characteristics and are permanent in nature. These tend to reflect the modes of behavior that individuals will adopt in their efforts to achieve desirable end states.

Values such as tolerance and empathy are representative of instrumental values in that they reflect preferred modes of behavior. For example, in order to achieve the desirable end goal of equality, individuals should be tolerant of others and express empathy, not fear, for those who are different. These values tend to be difficult to change once established.²⁸³ Therefore, positive instrumental values such as tolerance and empathy have become a necessary focus of Values Education in individuals' early years in an effort to establish pro-social attitudes and behaviors from a young age. Such activities help to develop a sound and socially acceptable moral code of behavior and understanding of right and wrong.²⁸⁴

However, while important to the ethos of Values Education, tolerance and empathy were not found to make a significant impact on attitudes towards African migrants in Malta. This does not necessarily indicate their failure as values to directly lend to the formation of positive attitudes but may be more reflective of the process of attitude formation itself. These values are abstractly experienced and reflected upon in Values Education experiences making such activities more like mental exercises than opportunities for values-application practice. The previous section addressing attitudes formed around abstract and concrete conceptions of impacts demonstrated that it is easier to support abstract values, such as a respect for diversity, than it is to apply these values to real groups of people.

²⁸² Rokeach, M. (1973). *The Nature of Human Values*. New York: Free Press.

²⁸³ Ibid

²⁸⁴ Kluckhohn, C. (1951): 396

Values Education did demonstrate an impact on attitudes despite this lack of influence by the abstract values of tolerance and empathy. Instead, experience with the concrete concepts of discrimination and racism strongly correlated with positive attitudes. In fact, these items exhibited the strongest impact of all examined factors on attitudes within this study. These values are more reflective of Rokeach's conception of terminal values. An overarching terminal value, such as equality, may include a number of related goals.²⁸⁵ In this case, equality and recognition would reflect a desire for society to be free from forms of discrimination and racism. These values give societies and individuals within them goals to work towards and indicate which attitudes and behaviors are most successful for the achievement of such goals, and therefore which are highly desirable.

Both terminal and instrumental values are important guiding principles for appropriate attitudes and behaviors within a society. However, it is the end goals, or terminal values, which determine acceptable attitudes and behaviors, or instrumental values.²⁸⁶ For example, a society has a specific goal (to be free from forms of discrimination) and then determines the instrumental values which will be necessary for the achievement of that goal. As such, terminal values come first. They provide the rationale behind the choice of instrumental values, thus indicating the reason individuals should abide by society's definition of desirable and undesirable attitudes and behaviors. For this reason, Rokeach believed that his conception of terminal and instrumental values was more than a values theory. He referred to this as a 'beliefs

²⁸⁵ Schwartz, S. H. (2006): 249

²⁸⁶ Rokeach, M. (1973): 7

system' in which both the end goals and necessary modes of behavior form a larger conception and understanding of society.²⁸⁷

While the instrumental values of tolerance and empathy did not demonstrate an impact on attitudes, the concepts of discrimination and racism, reflective of terminal values, did strongly influence attitudes in a positive way. Values Education activities tend to emphasize instrumental values in an effort to strengthen these. The stronger an instrumental value is, the stronger its impact on one's behavior will be.²⁸⁸ However, it seems that while a focus on instrumental values alone may be helpful in emphasizing pro-social attitudes and behaviors, it is not enough to allow for these values to be consistently and fully internalized by young learners.

As such, a focus on abstract, instrumental values is still necessary and useful, but is not the only focus needed. A focus on terminal values, or end goals, has seen more success in positively influencing attitudes. While instrumental values are essential in teaching appropriate ways of thinking and behaving, terminal values demonstrate the necessary rationale behind the need for specific positive, pro-social attitudes and behaviors. As attitudes formed through activities such as Values Education are based in cognitive, rather than affective, processes it may be more necessary for students to understand the reasoning behind such values. Thus, the majority of Values Education strategies have been participant-focused emphasizing the need for individuals to cognitively reflect on values and come to their own understanding of how values

²⁸⁷ Shores, J. W. (2008). *Christian Theatre as Entertainment-Education: Belief System Theory and the Impact of Live Performance* (Doctoral Dissertation). Regent University, Virginia: 60

²⁸⁸ Phillips, J. M. & Gully, S. M. (2014). *Organizational Behavior: Tools for Success*. Mason, OH: South-Western Cengage Learning: 137

contribute to the well-being of the self and others and the reasons why certain values are more successful in this contribution than others.²⁸⁹

A focus on terminal values also offers opportunities to see how instrumental values, such as tolerance and empathy, can be applied. They offer direct connections between modes of behavior and the positive consequences related to them, such as the connection between tolerance and a decrease in prejudicial attitudes and discrimination. Previous sections demonstrated that it is easier to support abstract, terminal values such as peace and equality but it is harder to apply these values. While instrumental values demonstrate appropriate attitudes and behavior, their connection to terminal values is essential for young learners to experience and process. By having a strong cognitive awareness of the link between terminal and instrumental values, young learners may be more encouraged to internalize positive instrumental values. Thus, it seems both kinds of values are a necessary focus in Values Education activities for young learners to develop a full belief system as imagined by Rokeach.

Benefits of the Classroom Space for Values Education

Another interesting finding in this study was that Values Education experiences were strongest in their impact on attitudes when they occurred within the classroom as opposed to extracurricular spaces or homes. Educational institutions fulfill multiple needs for a society. While the most obvious and manifest function of a school is to transmit academic knowledge, other functions are just as important. Educational institutions act as an important transmitter of societal and cultural norms, values, and expectations. Classrooms also serve as important spaces for socialization providing opportunities for students to learn how to navigate complex social situations and relationships with others.

²⁸⁹ Kirschenbaum, H. (1976). Clarifying Values Clarification: Some Theoretical Issues and a Review of Research. *Group & Organization Studies*, 1(1), 99–116.

Schools represent a particularly effective space for engaging in social and cultural lessons. As argued by Peadar Cremin, the classroom, “presents a web of relationships and tensions as formidable and possibly as threatening for the young learner as any that he or she will have to cope with in adult life.”²⁹⁰ As such, schools present a microcosm of society in which students with different ethnicities, beliefs, attitudes, etc not only share a space, but are expected to learn from each other, build relationships, and do so with minimal conflict. This makes the classroom a particularly opportune space for practicing the navigation of such complex social situations from a young age in preparation for similar experiences in adult life.

Additionally, classrooms are already primed to influence students beyond a transmission of academic knowledge. As agents of socialization, educational institutions influence students’ concept of self, their emotions, as well as their attitudes and behaviors.²⁹¹ This influence can be directly experienced through explicit social pressures from faculty or peers, or it may be more subtle. Both reinforce conformity by pressuring students’ attitudes and beliefs to match those desired by the greater society. This is done by teaching specific rules and expectations of behavior and through processes of praise and punishment. These resemble the various processes of attitude formation discussed in the literature review such as Skinner’s instrumental conditioning based on rewards and punishments. Additionally, when students learn from the experiences of others in their classroom, they are forming attitudes through observational learning. These processes take the pressures and expectations of the classroom and form attitudes regarding the related desirable or undesirable values, attitudes, and behaviors.

²⁹⁰ Cremin, P. (1993). *Promoting Education for Peace*. In Cremin, P. Ed. *Education for Peace* (pp.1-13). Limerick: Education Studies Association of Ireland: 4

²⁹¹ Saldana, J. (2013). Power and Conformity in Today’s Schools. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 3(1), pp. 228-232: 228.

As such, learning experiences that take place in the classroom are important for attitude formation to begin with. Values Education activities seek to influence students through an emphasis on specific values and attitudes which increase the well-being of the self and others. As the classroom is already primed to play a distinct and important role in attitude formation, and as this space represents a microcosm of society in which lessons and skills learned in schools can translate directly into adult life, Values Education in schools would likely be the most successful location for the transmission and reception of desired values and attitudes.

Thus, it is not surprising to see that Values Education in schools correlated more strongly with attitudes in this study than such experiences in other locations. These findings support the arguments made by previous authors regarding the social role of educational institutions in shaping the cultural and social identities of young learners in the image of the greater society. Schools offer the most opportunities for consistent and critical reflection on pro-social values and chances for young people to practice putting them to use as they navigate the microcosm of the classroom. As such, this is a particularly successful location for Values Education and thus should be one focus of societies in their efforts to increase social cohesion, not only between groups but within them as well.

However, it is important to note that Values Education experiences within other locations made less of an impact on attitudes than expected. Extracurricular activities are spaces offering plenty of opportunities to further enhance existing experiences with Values Education or encounter such values more deeply. Related activities aim to enhance individuals' understanding of the connections between class lessons while also developing their talents and

interests.²⁹² These efforts can stress positive, pro-social values encouraging moral development and generally offer an environment where diverse people come together and interact. While the classroom setting has been praised for representing a microcosm of society, extracurricular spaces can also be representative of the greater society. Whether formed around sports, religious beliefs, or community activities, membership within such groups still offers opportunities for individuals to navigate similarly complex social relationships and value-conflicts.

The potential for extracurricular activities to be greatly involved in the development of a moral and empathetic character has been a topic of conversation regarding Values Education. Some have argued that “extracurricular activities should not be considered extra, but a vital part of education.”²⁹³ Such activities generate opportunities for valuable experiences which are more effective teachers of values than lectures or textbooks found in the classroom. The example given by William Damon is the great potential of sports. He argues that sports can be a most effective way to enhance Values Education, but that this is only possible if the coaches and the messages they impart are well integrated into the Values Education experiences of a school.²⁹⁴ If coaches stress winning as the only objective and fail to instill important lessons such as learning to play by the rules, teamwork, and camaraderie, then players can develop into aggressive, maladjusted members of society.

Values Education experiences within extracurricular spaces have been proven to be effective educational tools for young learners to engage with positive values. One study found that extracurricular activities, such as Boy Scouts, were effective because they engaged youths

²⁹² Komalasari, K. et al (2014). Living Values Education Model in Learning and Extracurricular Activities to Construct the Students' Character. *Journal of Education and Practice* 5(7), 166-174: 166

²⁹³ Damon, W. (2002). *Bringing in a New Era in Character Education*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press: 115.

²⁹⁴ Ibid, 123

with the same positive values stressed in the classroom.²⁹⁵ Values such as creativity, tolerance, and respect experienced in the classroom may increase the capacity for moral reasoning, but it is argued that such experiences existing in extracurricular spaces in conjunction may help instill those moral values and commitments.²⁹⁶

So it has been established that Values Education in extracurricular spaces are not only effective at increasing pro-social values such as tolerance and respect but act as particularly important spaces for such lessons to be enhanced and deepened. However, such experiences in this study were not found to be particularly influential on attitudes towards African migrants. It is possible that experiences in these locations are not stressing the most effective or related values for enhancing such attitudes. As was noted with the sports example, an emphasis on anti-social values can lead to the development of maladjusted community members.

It is also possible that such experiences are not designed in such a way as to effectively instill positive values or allow for a deeper engagement with these values. A deeper and more focused examination of Values Education activities in extracurricular spaces in Malta could expose the reason behind this lack of positive relationship between such activities and attitudes. It is clear that this relationship requires attention and that such activities require a thoughtful reconstruction in order to be effective. As such, it is suggested by the research that activities in extracurricular spaces are most effective when they complement and work in partnership with Values Education experiences in the classroom. Thus, it is necessary for future efforts aimed at improving activities in this location to consider how they will relate to the lessons encountered in the classroom as well.

²⁹⁵ Komalasari, K. et al (2014)

²⁹⁶ Damon, W. (2002): 123

Additionally, Values Education experiences in the home demonstrated a lack of relationship with the attitudes studied. As mentioned above, Damon argued that extracurricular spaces for Values Education can be particularly effective if the coaches and the lessons they instill are positive. He also argues that Values Education is enhanced when parents see the importance of such values as well.²⁹⁷ Support for the same positive, pro-social values that are introduced in the classroom and enhanced in extracurricular experiences should be given in the home as well.

However, the values learned in homes and in schools do not always complement each other. For example, schools may emphasize values that condemn smoking while many students live in homes where smoking is acceptable.²⁹⁸ Which values should have a greater influence on young people—those taught in the home or experienced in schools? Youths' engagement with values is a continuous process of exploration in which young people reflect on and reconsider their own beliefs and attitudes as they test these out against actions of their peers and parents.²⁹⁹ When the values experienced in schools and at home conflict, this process of values exploration is made even more challenging for young people. For this reason, it has been argued that every attempt should be made to ensure that the values experienced in schools and those endorsed by parents in the home should be complementary.³⁰⁰

The data presented did not demonstrate a clear relationship between values experiences in the home and attitudes towards migrants. In other words, it was not determined that Values Education experiences in the home contributed to the formation of positive

²⁹⁷ Damon, W. (2002): 123

²⁹⁸ Trissler, T. (2000). Should Values be Taught in Public Schools? *Practical Ethics*.

²⁹⁹ Taylor, M. J. (1996). *Voicing their Values: Pupils' Moral and Cultural Experience*. In Halstead, J. M., & Taylor, M. J. (Eds) *Values in Education and Education in Values*, pp 121-142. Bristol, PA: Falmer Press, Taylor & Francis: 131

³⁰⁰ Ibid, 125

attitudes towards African migrants. However, when considering the data it cannot be explicitly concluded that such experiences contributed to the formation of negative attitudes either. It is also unclear which values are being experienced or are lacking in the home. Thus, it is possible that values are not being explicitly explored in homes between youths and their families or that these experiences are simply not effective enough alone to significantly contribute to attitudes.

Instead, as suggested earlier Values Education is most effective when it is experienced in all three locations and when the values emphasized in each are complementary. In order to strengthen the positive impact of Values Education on attitudes towards African migrants in Malta, schools and families should make an effort to work in partnership and endorse the same positive values. Schools can be more upfront with parents about the values they emphasize in the classroom and parents can show an authentic interest in their children's development of values. This consistency would limit the presence of value-conflicts and make it less challenging for young people to determine the most appropriate values for improving the well-being of themselves and others. The strength of the impact made by Values Education on such attitudes can also be improved through a consistent, cross-location approach in which schools, extracurricular groups, and households share complementary values.

Attitude Formation and Higher Education

Attitudes toward immigrants have been a popular topic of academic study over the past few decades. Various research studies have explored determinants of attitudes such as economics,³⁰¹ contact with migrants,³⁰² and especially education.³⁰³ A number of studies have

³⁰¹ Simon, R. J. (1987). Immigration and American Attitudes. *Public Opinion* 10: 47-50.

³⁰² Spiteri, D. (2013). Can My Perceptions of the 'Other' Change? Challenging Prejudices against Migrants Amongst Adolescent Boys in a School for Low Achievers in Malta. *Research in Education*, 89(1), 41-60.

³⁰³ Paas, T., & Halapuu, V. (2012). Attitudes towards Immigrants and the Integration of Ethnically Diverse Societies. *Eastern Journal of European Studies*, 3(2), 161-176.

argued that individuals completing higher levels of education tend to express more positive or tolerant attitudes towards migrants.³⁰⁴ These studies refer to different theories to support their argument. The 'education as liberation' hypothesis argues that an advanced formal education instills a more enlightened perspective in individuals making them less vulnerable to negative intergroup claims.³⁰⁵

Others instead suggest that higher education produces a more sophisticated cognitive style where individuals learn to challenge the unquestioning acceptance of prevailing norms.³⁰⁶ Thus, it is argued that individuals completing higher education are less easily swayed by narrow, stereotypical attacks against out-groups and their members. Additionally, some have argued that higher education mitigates economic concerns which fuel anti-immigrant sentiments by allowing for the development of more sophisticated job skills.³⁰⁷ Such individuals will be less affected by concerns regarding job competition as the majority of incoming migrants will be low-skilled workers.

However, the assumption that a higher education directly correlates to more positive attitudes regarding immigrants is not fully supported by all. Some studies have been unable to corroborate the positive effect of higher education on attitudes. For example, some have previously argued that while a higher education does noticeably impact people's attitudes, this impact is limited and the positive attitudes are not internalized.³⁰⁸ Thus, a higher education alone may temporarily encourage more tolerant attitudes but may not affect long-term

³⁰⁴ Cam, P. (2014). Philosophy for Children, Values Education and the Inquiring Society. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 46(11), 1203-1211

³⁰⁵ Apostle, R. A., Glock, C. Y., Piazza, T. & Suelzle, M. (1983). *The Anatomy of Social Attitudes*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

³⁰⁶ Espenshade, T. J., & Calhoun, C. A. (1993): 195

³⁰⁷ Paas, T., & Halapuu, V. (2012). Attitudes towards Immigrants and the Integration of Ethnically Diverse Societies. *Eastern Journal of European Studies*, 3(2), 161-176.

³⁰⁸ Sullivan, J. L., Piereson, J. & Marcus, G. E. (1982). *Political Tolerance and American Democracy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

perspectives. Additionally, some have argued instead that a higher education can be a detriment in that it only helps negative-thinking individuals further protect in-group interests by developing their skills to construct more sophisticated ideologies.³⁰⁹

As such, our understanding of the relationship between a higher education and attitudes towards migrants has remained ambiguous. This study aimed to explore this relationship further by examining the impact of a certain education approach on attitudes. Values Education can happen both in and out of the classroom, as all learning opportunities can. The results of this study indicated a low correlation between a non-descript higher education and more positive attitudes. As such, this study was unable to support the arguments made by previous findings in which a higher education has distinctly and positively impacted such attitudes.

However, in this study Values Education as a pedagogy was shown to have a positive impact on local youths' attitudes towards African migrants. This study has thus suggested that some educational approaches are more effective at this goal than others. Previous educational approaches have emphasized the fulfillment of varying goals. For example, increasing individuals' personal freedom, options and right to self-determination, increasing an individual's capacity for economic participation and productivity, developing individuals' personalities and creating the conditions needed for a good life, and preparing individuals for a social life focusing on the importance of relationships have all been goals of previous approaches.³¹⁰ Such programs and activities were suited for those goals.

³⁰⁹ Jackman, M. R. & Muha, M. J. (1984). Education and Intergroup Attitudes: Moral Enlightenment, Superficial Democratic Commitment, or Ideological Refinement? *American Sociological Review* 49: 751-769.

³¹⁰ Ibid: 62

In the same way, Values Education is well suited for a specific goal. In order to increase social-cohesion, peace, and the well-being of the self and others, this educational strategy focuses on explicitly engaging young learners with pro-social values and encouraging the development of healthy value-priority systems. However, not all educational approaches will be as equally capable of producing the same value-thinking individuals since each approach emphasizes different personal characteristics and attributes. Those approaches which are successful in developing obedient and hard-working individuals will inevitably place less emphasis on inspiring creative and critical thinking – two things very necessary for young learners to question stereotypical and prejudicial arguments made against outgroups.

While previous studies have explored the impact of education on attitudes, they have not investigated the specific approaches of education. Thus, they have been unable to distinguish between the different capabilities of various educational approaches in positively impacting attitudes towards immigrants. For this reason, and perhaps others, previous studies have demonstrated ambiguous and sometimes opposing results. In order to clarify our understanding of this relationship, this study chose a particular educational approach which specifically aims to improve attitudes to determine what kind of effect it was having in the case of Malta and the community of African migrants. This study demonstrated that Values Education, and not a non-descript higher education, was successful in positively impacting such attitudes.

Concluding Remarks

The purpose of this study was to explore the relationship between Values Education and attitudes towards African migrants. This chapter furthered our understanding of this relationship by discussing the various factors and aspects of Values Education which may

contribute to its success in impacting such attitudes in the context of existing academic literature on the subject. Five subsections addressed various findings in a wider academic context.

The first section offered a possible explanation for the difference in attitude strength between negative and positive attitude responses using values theory. The second section addressed the differences in attitude responses regarding the perceived abstract and specific impacts of African migrants on life in Malta in which Values Education is suggested to mitigate the negative effects of other attitude drivers such as economic and media influences. The third section similarly addressed the differences in attitudes that result from experiences with either abstract values or concrete concepts. Relating these back to Rokeach's instrumental and terminal values, it is suggested that cognitive attitudes formed through Values Education experiences are aided by a focus on the rationale and logic behind the emphasis on certain values over others.

The fourth sections discussed the finding that Values Education in schools was more significantly related to positive attitudes than such experiences in other locations. It is suggested that as the classroom is already an important social space for attitude formation, Values Education experiences here are more capable of having the desired impact.

The final section of this chapter addressed the inconsistent arguments in existing literature regarding the impact of a higher education on attitudes towards immigrants. While some studies have argued a positive impact, others have been unable to support this. This section furthered our understanding of this relationship by examining a specific educational approach as opposed to a non-descript 'higher' education. It is argued here that education alone

may not have a strong impact on positive attitude formation but that certain educational approaches such as Values Education may be more successful.

Overall, this chapter has shown how Values Education is contributing to the process of positive attitude formation in Malta. While attitude drivers based on fear tend to generate more strong and negative attitudes towards African migrants, Values Education and its emphasis on universalism values such as tolerance and empathy and a focus on realistic application of these through concepts such as discrimination and racism has been shown to mitigate the formation of negative attitudes and allow for a rise in the rate of more positive conceptions of this group. The positive impact is seen most evidently in Values Education experiences within schools where young people have the greatest number of opportunities to engage with people who are different from themselves. This creates more opportunities for the navigation of complex social relationships, the resolution of value-conflicts, and a humanization of others. As such, Values Education in schools especially is a vehicle for instilling positive, pro-social values in this population by negating the impact of negative attitude drivers present in the community. By preventing the formation of strongly negative attitudes, the consistent and thoughtful application of Values Education is shown to be a strong potential mechanism for improving the relations between these two groups thus increasing opportunities for successful integration.

Conclusions

Does Values Education have a positive impact on youths' attitudes towards African migrants? This study sought to answer this question and determine whether or not Values Education is a significant driver of positive attitude formation. To do so, a cross-sectional survey was distributed to Maltese youth participants to determine their overall experience with Values Education and their attitudes towards African migrants. These variables were compared through a number of quantitative tests to determine how Values Education is impacting such attitudes.

Increasing anti-immigration sentiments throughout Europe have become even more present in Malta following the arrival of thousands of asylum-seekers from the African continent.³¹¹ Negative attitudes towards such African migrants have become a source of prejudice and discrimination. It has been argued that discrimination is “the single most important integration barrier,”³¹² even when compared to cultural, linguistic, or other group differences. As such, negative attitudes towards African migrants have become obstacles to the successful integration of approved asylum-seekers into the greater Maltese society. Additionally, those who feel they are victims of discrimination and racism have forced

³¹¹ Durick, H. E. (2011). African Irregular Migrants in Malta: Exploring Perceptions and Renegotiating the Socio-Cultural Siege of Malta. *OMERTAA Journal of Applied Anthropology*. 483-498.

³¹² Constant, A. F., et al (2008). Attitudes towards Immigrants, Other Integration Barriers, and their Veracity. *Institute for the Study of Labor*.

themselves into lives of isolation limiting the opportunities for these communities to positively interact, and thus further hindering integration efforts.³¹³

Various socioeconomic determinants of attitudes towards migrants, such as a higher education, have been a focus of previous research. A number of studies have demonstrated that a higher education correlates to more positive attitudes towards migrants.³¹⁴ These have cited different theories and explanations to defend their arguments such as the education as liberation hypothesis,³¹⁵ the human capital theory,³¹⁶ and the development of more a more sophisticated cognitive style following a higher education in which individuals are less easily swayed by narrow, stereotypical arguments.³¹⁷

However, other studies have been unable to support these arguments claiming instead that the positive effect of education on attitudes is only temporary and not internalized.³¹⁸ Some have even argued that a higher education actually improves the capacity for negative-thinking individuals to construct more sophisticated ideologies to further in-group interests.³¹⁹ As such, our understanding of education as an attitude driver remained unclear. In an effort to further the existing knowledge of this topic, the broad concept of 'education' was narrowed allowing this study to focus specifically on the impact of one educational approach.

³¹³ Nitkellmu? Refugee Integration Perspectives in Malta. (2013). *Aditus & UNHCR*: 5

³¹⁴ Cam, P. (2014). Philosophy for Children, Values Education and the Inquiring Society. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 46(11), 1203-1211

³¹⁵ Apostle, R. A., Glock, C. Y., Piazza, T. & Suelzle, M. (1983). *The Anatomy of Social Attitudes*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

³¹⁶ Paas, T., & Halapuu, V. (2012). Attitudes towards Immigrants and the Integration of Ethnically Diverse Societies. *Eastern Journal of European Studies*, 3(2), 161-176.

³¹⁷ Espenshade, T. J., & Calhoun, C. A. (1993): 195

³¹⁸ Sullivan, J. L., Piereson, J. & Marcus, G. E. (1982). *Political Tolerance and American Democracy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

³¹⁹ Jackman, M. R. & Muha, M. J. (1984). Education and Intergroup Attitudes: Moral Enlightenment, Superficial Democratic Commitment, or Ideological Refinement? *American Sociological Review* 49: 751-769.

Values Education is a specific approach to education which emphasizes positive, pro-social values such as tolerance and empathy. Related activities make explicit the underlying values which inform individuals' attitudes and beliefs thus demonstrating how values are related to social and community life. However, its impact on the formation of positive attitudes towards migrants had not previously been a focus of academic study. As the existing problem being addressed in this study is the presence of negative attitudes and the subsequent discrimination of a group of people, this study explored the potential role of Values Education in improving youths' attitudes towards African migrants through a quantitative data analysis.

Values Education experience was determined on the basis of participants' frequency and evaluation of their experience with related activities, the location and educational level these took place in, and the various values and concepts discussed. The attitude section addressed participants' perceptions of the impacts being made by African migrants in Malta based on three categories – economic, cultural, and living space. Two questions for each category distinguished between participants' attitudes towards broad and specific impacts allowing for a richer data interpretation.

Quantitative data analysis was used to run various tests assessing the impact of Values Education on the attitude dimensions. Additionally, the various factors of Values Education were analyzed and compared to determine which of these demonstrated a stronger correlation with the attitudes, thus allowing for a further understanding of how Values Education impacts attitudes. Lastly, the socio-demographic characteristics were investigated as potential attitude drivers and their impacts were compared to that of Values Education to determine how attitude formation is happening within the context of a complex system of drivers.

The data presented in this study demonstrated a significant relationship between Values Education and youths' attitudes towards African migrants. As such experience became more frequent, the prevalence of positive attitudes increased while the strength of negative attitudes decreased. Most specifically, such experiences within schools demonstrated the strongest impact on attitudes. This is likely because the classroom is already an important social space for attitude formation. As a microcosm of the greater society, the classroom creates many opportunities for young people to apply their lessons on values as they navigate complex social relationships and learn to resolve value-conflicts. As such, Values Education within formal educational institutions is suggested to be a strong driver of positive attitudes towards African migrants in Malta.

From this result, this study furthered the existing academic conversation regarding the impact of education on such attitudes. Previous studies have generated inconsistent and contradictory arguments regarding the role of higher education on positive attitude formation. In response, this study has suggested that it is not a non-descript higher education alone which improves individuals' attitudes but an education which emphasizes the kind of positive, pro-social values necessary for individuals to develop a tolerant and empathetic character. However, this preliminary finding has only opened the door to a complex relationship. Further in-depth analysis is warranted to further this conversation and continue to improve our understanding of these concepts and their relationship.

Previous arguments for the positive impact on attitudes made by a higher education have been attributed to processes of cognitive and cultural enlightenment. While these processes may be playing a role, perhaps it is also the fact that a higher education allows students more opportunities to continue engaging in Values Education activities that makes this

more likely to improve attitudes. As such, previous studies which were unable to demonstrate a significant relationship between a higher education and more tolerant attitudes may have inadvertently examined the impact of alternative educational approaches which do not emphasize these positive values. The broad conception of education as utilized in previous studies could have overshadowed the differences in various educational approaches, thus yielding different results regarding the impacts of these unidentified approaches on attitudes towards migrants.

This study has also generated new knowledge regarding the cognitive process of attitude formation through Values Education. The most successful Values Education experiences in making a positive impact on such attitudes were those which moved beyond a focus on abstract values such as tolerance and empathy and created opportunities for youths to apply these values to real world scenarios. By focusing on concepts such as discrimination and racism, individuals learn to draw connections between values and actual social issues. A focus on positive values alone makes it easier to support abstract values such as diversity and equality. But these are more difficult to apply to real life, beyond an abstract conception, making it a necessity for Values Education to create opportunities for young people to draw such connections.

There are many processes of attitude formation with the majority based on affect or emotional conditioning. However, those based on cognitive processes rely on the use of logic and reasoning. Values Education as an attitude driver likely appeals to these cognitive processes as the method of such activities focuses on critical and explicit reflection on values. As such, attitudes formed through Values Education may require activities to engage individuals in the logic and purpose behind society's conception of positive and pro-social values. A focus on

concepts such as discrimination and racism demonstrates the necessary rationale behind the need for values like tolerance and empathy by allowing individuals to consider the consequences and applications of these values. Such activities thus allow participants to come to their own understanding of how values contribute to the well-being of the self and others and the reasons why certain values are more successful in this contribution than others.

Lastly, Values Education has been shown to be only one of a number of attitude drivers within a society. Others, such as economic drivers and the media seem to play a competing role in driving the process of attitude formation. Attitudes formed within the competition between the impacts of Values Education and economic drivers were generally positive indicating that Values Education may be stronger than fear-based economic attitude drivers. However, the competing impacts of the media and Values Education seemed to indicate that the media played a stronger role. As such, it appears that Values Education serves to mitigate the impact of negative attitude drivers and is successful in this effort against some drivers more than others.

Overall, Values Education is shown to be a significant approach for improving attitudes towards migrants. Within the modern globalized world filled with pluralistic societies, Values Education can play a role in positively transforming attitudes towards migrants by creating the type of community members who can effectively and peacefully navigate the increasing complexities of social life in a heterogeneous society. By emphasizing necessary values and their applications, Values Education has the potential to instill in individuals a tolerant and empathetic character capable of seeing past narrow, fear-based assessments of others and both respecting and practicing social ideals such as equality and diversity.

In Malta, Values Education has the capacity to improve attitudes towards African migrants. This could lead to a decrease in prejudicial and discriminatory sentiments and improve

the relationship between these communities. As negative, discriminatory attitudes are a huge roadblock for integration, improving such attitudes will increase and strengthen the potential for the successful integration of African migrants and the Maltese society.

Implications of the Study

The findings of this study have yielded a few significant implications for Malta. First, as Values Education has shown to be a significant driver of positive attitudes, in an effort to increase social-cohesion and peaceful relations between the Maltese and African communities, this approach should be widely and consistently applied in schools throughout Malta. This includes both government-run and privately-run educational institutions. As such, educational policy aimed at improving public attitudes towards migrant groups should be founded on the kinds of pro-social values that would best improve the well-being of all lives in Malta. To achieve this, educational institutions should be required to apply these values explicitly in classroom activities. As it stands, a large number of Maltese youth had infrequent or rare experience with such important activities indicating a current lack of consistent application across schools. This application should be improved and expanded to include all levels from primary to tertiary classrooms effectively.

Secondly, Values Education is most effective when it is experienced in multiple social locations. The Maltese community should also work to build a culture of tolerance and respect for diversity by employing Values Education activities more effectively in extracurricular spaces, such as sports, youth, and religious groups, as well as in the home. This means that a connection should be drawn between families, communities, and educational institutions to ensure that positive values are being emphasized and equally supported in all three of these locations. As it stands, such activities in the home and extracurricular spaces have failed to achieve their

potential impact on attitudes. Thus, it is even more important for Values Education to become a greater focus in these spaces.

Lastly, the benefits of positive contact between Maltese youths and African migrants have been instrumental in improving attitudes. In order to capitalize on this strength, Values Education programs in and outside of schools should be designed to create opportunities for such positive contact between these groups. As African migrants seeking asylum continue to arrive and build their lives in Malta, classrooms will become more heterogeneous and the need for constructive contact and positive relations will be even greater. Increasing such positive contact opportunities *now* will not only improve youths' relationships in future educational settings but will also increase the opportunities for young people to apply the positive values they are learning to real world scenarios. Concepts such as discrimination and racism are made even more impactful when Maltese youths can come face-to-face with real migrants, thus humanizing the 'other' and demonstrating the real consequences of negative attitudes which lead to prejudice and discrimination.

As the youth today will become the leaders of tomorrow, it is essential for young people to experience Values Education activities as often as possible. Instilling positive, pro-social values from a young age will increase the likelihood that tomorrow's leaders will emerge as the kind of tolerant, critically-thinking individuals capable of meeting the challenges of a pluralistic society. Patterns of migration continue to increase as the world becomes more globalized making it even more important for communities to learn to embrace diversity, respect differences, and practice empathy. It is suggested that an emphasis on Values Education in Malta may improve the community's potential for achieve these very goals.

Suggestions for Further Research

While this study has furthered our understanding of the role of Values Education experiences and attitudes towards migrants, it has also revealed a number of additional questions which can be addressed in further research studies. To begin, the literature review discussed four different Values Education approaches. These include a conservative approach, a liberal or developmental approach, a critical approach, and a post-modern approach. These approaches generally conceive of Values Education slightly differently and engage learners with values through different means.

As this study has already demonstrated that Values Education is having an impact on attitudes among Maltese youth, further research could go deeper and determine which approaches are being utilized in various settings across schools, homes, and extracurricular spaces in Malta. The impacts made by the various approaches could be compared to further our understanding of which Values Education experiences influence the formation of attitudes. Those approaches which are determined to be the most effective will have significant impacts on educational policies in Malta in the future as this country continues to navigate the complex integration situation with existing and incoming African migrants.

Additionally, future research investigating the various Values Education approaches may contribute to an explanation regarding the varying impacts of Values Education on different attitude dimensions. For example, the strength of positive and negative responses in relation to perceived economic, cultural, and living place impacts varied among participants indicating different applications of values in response to different attitude dimensions. Future research on Values Education could explore this variance by comparing different activity approaches. Whereas conservative approaches emphasizing the direct transmission of prescribed values may

directly increase one's support for diversity, perhaps it the liberal approach which seeks to instill the critical mind necessary for the internalization of pro-social values that allows young people to put these values into practice.

Lastly, this study also generated more questions regarding the impact of abstract values (such as tolerance and empathy) and concrete concepts (such as discrimination and racism) on the formation of attitudes towards African migrants. It is necessary for future research to explore the difference in impacts between abstract and concrete values application. In order to design future Values Education programs that will more effectively and consistently influence the formation of positive attitudes, it is essential to know which foundational values are more strongly related to the formation of such attitudes than others. The development of future programming should reflect an emphasis on the strongest positive values in order to maximize the potential of Values Education to improve attitudes.

These potential future studies discussed here would continue to further our knowledge on the topic of Values Education and how it utilizes values to impact attitudes towards migrants, or 'others' in general. This study has furthered the existing knowledge base in a number of areas but has also led to additional questions which, when answered, will continue the academic conversation and potentially allow communities to take greater advantage of the benefits of Values Education in improving and repairing social relationships in a world becoming more globalized and pluralistic.

Final Remark

The research question addressed in this study is as follows: *Does Values Education have a positive impact on youths' attitudes towards African migrants?* This study generated meaningful data and important findings in an effort to answer this question. It is argued here

that Values Education does in fact have a significant and positive impact on such attitudes. Therefore, this educational approach could serve as a potential driver of the positive attitudes necessary for the relations between these two communities to improve. Such improvements to both the attitudes and communal relations could have important implications for the future opportunities for these communities to successfully integrate.

Appendix 1: Shalom Schwartz's Values Theory Spectrum

Schwartz's theory of universal values

Figure 1. Theoretical model of relations among ten motivational types of values



"Ten motivationally distinct value orientations that people in all cultures recognize" (quote and figure: Schwartz, [undated](#)). Used with over 270 samples in 70 countries with different measurement instruments. The values are ordered according to two dimensions: Self Transcendence v. Self Enhancement; and Openness to Change v. Conservation. Values are positively related if they are close together, and antagonistic if they are on opposite sides of the circle.

Appendix 2: Survey Participation Recruitment Post

Recruitment Post for Social Media (English)

What impacts are African migrants having on life in Malta? Tell me what you think! My name is Lauren Corboy and I'm currently working on my master's thesis for the University of Malta. I am exploring the relationship between a Values-Based Education and Maltese perspectives of African migrants in Malta. If you are Maltese and 18-29 years old, I would greatly appreciate it if you could participate in my survey by clicking the link below. It should take about 5-10 minutes and is completely anonymous.

Click on the link below to begin!

https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/education_and_attitudes_in_malta

Recruitment Post for Social Media (Maltese)

X'impatt ghandhom l-immigranti Afrikani fuq il-hajja f'Malta? Ghidli x'tahseb! Jiena Lauren Corboy, studenta li qed nipprepara tezi tal-Masters gewwa l-Universita ta' Malta. Qeghda nesplora r-relazzjoni li tezisti bejn l-Edukazzjoni bbazata fuq il-Valuri (Values Based Education) u perspettivi Maltin dwar immigranti Afrikani f'Malta. Napprezza hafna jekk tista' tiehu sehem f'dan l-istharrig (survey) billi tikklikkja fuq il-link hawn taht. ghandu jehodlok bejn 5 u 10 minuti u huwa ghal kollox anonimu.

https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/MALTESE_education_and_attitudes_in_malta

Appendix 3: Central Limit Theorem Formula

Calculating Sample Size:

$$\text{Sample Size} = \frac{\frac{z^2 \times p(1-p)}{e^2}}{1 + \left(\frac{z^2 \times p(1-p)}{e^2 N} \right)}$$

Population Size = N

Margin of Error = e, which is a percentage, put into decimal form (for example, 3% = 0.03).

Z-Score = z

The z-score is the number of standard deviations a given proportion is away from the mean.

Appendix 4: English Survey Instrument

Greetings, I am a graduate student with the University of Malta and George Mason University pursuing my Dual Master's Degree in Conflict Resolution and Mediterranean Security (M.S.) and Conflict Analysis and Resolution (M.A.). The following questionnaire is intended for Maltese nationals between the ages of 18 and 29 only. The purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between Values-Based Education and attitudes towards African migrants in Malta. This questionnaire is strictly anonymous and you are free to withdraw at any point. However, your response would be valuable and greatly appreciated. There are no risks or benefits to you for taking part in this study. It should take less than 10 minutes to complete. Thank you for taking the time to participate!

Sincerely, Lauren Corboy
lauren.corboy.14@um.edu.mt

By clicking 'Next' below to begin you are agreeing to take part in this study.

[New Survey Page]

Part 1: Socio-Demographic Characteristics

1. Age
 - a. Open field
2. Gender
 - a. Open field
3. Level of highest education completed:
 - a. Secondary, Post-Secondary, Bachelor's Degree, Graduate Degree
4. Are you currently employed?
 - a. Yes, Full-Time; Yes, Part-Time; Yes, Seasonally; No
5. What city/town do you live in?
 - a. Open field

[New Survey Page]

Part 2: VBE Experience

For this next section, please read the brief description of 'Values-Based Education' below and answer the following questions to the best of your best ability.

Values-Based Education (VBE) is a learning process that helps participants develop a clear and deeper understanding of the underlying values that shape their attitudes and behaviors. This allows participants in VBE activities to see how their values affect the ways they think and act as individuals, as well as the ways they relate to others (family, friends, colleagues, strangers, etc). At the center of VBE lies the desire to identify the values and behaviors that increase the well-being of self and others, through an emphasis, among others, on understanding and respecting both self and others. Value Based Education processes can take place both in the classroom and outside of classroom, in spaces like youth groups, sport groups, religious groups and at home. VBE processes may include group discussions, projects, and games that focus on values promoting understanding and respect. You may have encountered elements of VBE in various settings such as courses at school (e.g. courses on human rights), discussions with family members, or sport activities when considering your relationships with teammates and opponents.

1. Quantity

- a. (14) In your educational and personal life, how often would you say you have had Values-Based Education experiences?
 - i. Very Often, Often, Sometimes, Rarely, Never, I Don't Know
- b. (15) If you have been through Values-Based Education experiences, where have these experiences taken place? *Please check all that apply.*
 - i. At home, At school, In extracurricular activities (youth groups, sports groups, religious groups, etc)
- c. (16) If you have had Values-Based Education experiences at school, at which level did these experiences take place? *Please check all that apply*
 - i. Primary, Secondary, Post-Secondary, Tertiary
- d. (17) If you have been through Values-Based Education experience at school, was this a core part of your curriculum or was it offered as an optional activity to students?
 - i. Core, Optional

2. Quality

- a. (18) How positive or negative have your experiences with Values-Based Education activities been?
 - i. Very Positive, Positive, Slightly Positive, Neutral, Slightly Negative, Negative, Very Negative, I Don't Know
- b. (19) How useful have your experiences with Values-Based Education been in your personal and social life?
 - i. Very Useful, Useful, Slightly Useful, Neutral, Slightly Useless, Useless, Very Useless, I Don't Know

3. Content

- a. (20) Have you discussed any of the following concepts in your VBE experiences **in school**? *Please check all that apply.*
 - i. Personal Values, Self-Awareness, Human Rights, Tolerance, Discrimination, Racism, Empathy, Compassion, Community, Culture, Peace, Fairness, Justice, Respect, Caring, Dignity, Poverty, Hunger, Gender

- b. (21) Have you discussed any of the following concepts in your VBE experiences **outside of school**? *Please check all that apply.*
 - i. Personal Values, Self-Awareness, Human Rights, Tolerance, Discrimination, Racism, Empathy, Compassion, Community, Culture, Peace, Fairness, Justice, Respect, Caring, Dignity, Poverty, Hunger, Gender
- c. (22) Which of the following skills do you feel you have acquired through your VBE experiences **in school**? *Please check all that apply.*
 - i. Critical Thinking, Problem-Solving, Personal Empowerment, Personal Responsibility, Relationship-Building, Teamwork
- d. (23) Which of the following skills do you feel you have acquired through your VBE experiences **outside of school**? *Please check all that apply.*
 - i. Critical Thinking, Problem-Solving, Personal Empowerment, Personal Responsibility, Relationship-Building, Teamwork
- e. (24) How often do you participate in volunteer opportunities in your community?
 - i. Never, Once or Twice, 1-5 times a year, 6-12 times a year, Once a month, More than once a month, Every Week...DK

[New Survey Page]

Part 3: Attitudes

Over the past decade Malta has seen an increasing number of migrants coming from Africa.

- 1. Contact (for context)
 - a. (6) How often do you interact with African migrants? (*This includes both verbal and non-verbal interaction.*)
 - i. Very Often, Often, Sometimes, Rarely, Never, I Don't Know
 - b. (7) How would you rate your interactions with African migrants?
 - i. Very Positive, Positive, Slightly Positive, Neutral, Slightly Negative, Negative, Very Negative, I Don't Know
- 2. Economy
 - a. (8) Do African migrants have a positive or negative effect on the Maltese economy?
 - i. Very Positive, Positive, Slightly Positive, No Effect, Slightly Negative, Negative, Very Negative, I Don't Know
 - b. (9) Do African migrants have a positive or negative effect on the Maltese job market?
 - i. Very Positive, Positive, Slightly Positive, No Effect, Slightly Negative, Negative, Very Negative, I Don't Know
- 3. Culture
 - a. (10) Do African migrants have a positive or negative effect on Maltese cultural life?
 - i. Very Positive, Positive, Slightly Positive, No Effect, Slightly Negative, Negative, Very Negative, I Don't Know
 - b. (11) How good or bad is it for Malta to be made up of people from different races, religions and cultures?
 - i. Very Good, Good, Slightly Good, Neutral, Slightly Bad, Bad, Very Bad, I Don't Know

4. Living Place
 - a. (12) Do African migrants make Malta a better or worse place to live?
 - i. Much Better, Better, Slightly Better, No Effect, Slightly Worse, Worse, Much Worse, I Don't Know
 - b. (13) How does the presence of African migrants affect the crime rate in Malta?
 - i. Strongly Increase, Increase, Slightly Increase, No Effect ...DK

[New Survey Page]

Part 4: Evaluation

1. (25) What kind of impact do you think your experience with Values-Based Education activities has had on your attitude towards African migrants?
 - a. Open field

Please click 'Submit' below to finish.

Appendix 5: Maltese Survey Instrument

Tislijiet, jiena studenta gradwata mill-Universita ta Malta u l-Universita George Mason u qed insegwi 'Dual Master's Degree' fir-Resoluzzjoni tal-Kunflitt u Sigurta' Mediterranja (M.S) u Analizi tal-Kunflitt u Resoluzzjoni (M.A). Il-kwestjonarju li huwa pprezentat hawnhekk huwa intenzjonat u maħsub għall-Maltin biss. L-għan ta'dan l-istudju huwa li jexplora ir-relazzjoni bejn l-Edukazzjoni bbażata fuq il-Valuri u l-atitudnijiet lejn l-imigranti Afrikani ġewwa Malta. Il-kwestjonarju huwa kompletament anonimu u għalhekk int liberu biex tgħaddi l-punt tiegħek. Madankollu, it-tweġibiet tiegħek se jkunu apprezzati hafna. Għandu jiehu inqas minn 10 minuti biex jiġi komplut. Grazzi talli se tiegħu l-hin biex tipparteċipa. Grazzi, Lauren Corboy
Jekk jgħoġġbok agħfas 'Next' hawn taht biex tibda.

L-1 parti : Karatteristiċi Soċjo-Demokratiċi

1. Eta'
 - a. (sezzjoni vojta)
2. Ġeneru
 - a. (sezzjoni vojta)
3. L-oġġla livell t'edukazzjoni li lestejt
 - a. Sekondarju, Post-Sekondarju, Degree Baċċelerat, Degree Gradwat
4. Inti impjegat bhalissa?
 - a. Iva, Full-Time; Iva, Part-Time; Iva, skont l-istaġun, Le
5. F'liema belt/raħal tgħix?
(sezzjoni vojta)

It-2 parti : Esperjenza ta' VBE (edukazzjoni bbażata fuq il-valuri)

Għal din is-sezzjoni li jmiss, jekk jgħoġġbok aqra d-deskrizzjoni qasira tal- Edukazzjoni Bbażata fuq il-Valuri u wieġeb il-mistoqsijiet ta' wara bl-aqwa abilita' tiegħek.

L-edukazzjoni bbażata fuq il-valuri (VBE) huwa proċess ta' taġġim li jgħin lill-parteciċipanti jiżviluppaw b'mod ċar u profund il-fehem tal-valuri li jiffurmaw l-atitudnijiet u l-imġieba taġġhom. Dan jgħin lill-parteciċipanti fl-attivitajiet ta' VBE biex jaraw kif il-valuri taġġhom jaffettwaw l-modi li bihom jaħsbu u jaġixxu bħala individwi, u kif ukoll fil-mod kif jirrelataw mal-oħrajn (familja, hbieb, kollegi, strangieri etc.) Fiċ-ċentru ta' VBE insibu x-xewqan biex jiġu identifikati il-valuri u l-imġieba li jżidu l-istil ta' ħajja tal-oħrajn, b'enfasisazzjoni, fost oħrajn, fuq il-fehem u r-rispett, kemm lejx innifsek u anke lejn l-oħrajn. Il-proċessi tal-edukazzjoni bbażata fuq il-valuri jsejtnu kemm fil-klassi u anke barra mill-klassi, f'postijiet bħal gruppi taż-żagħżagħ, gruppi tal-isport, gruppi reliġjużi u anke ġewwa d-dar. Il-proċessi ta' VBE jistgħu jinkludu diskussjonijiet bejn il-grupp, proġetti, u logħob li jiffukaw fuq il-promozzjoni tal-valuri, il-fehem tal-valuri u anke fuq ir-rispett tal-valuri. Jista' ikun li ltaqjt ma' elementi tal-VBE f'diversi okkażjonijiet bħal per

eżempju korsijiet ġewwa l-iskola (eż. korsijiet fuq id drittijiet tal-bniedem), diskussjonijiet ma' membri tal-familja, attivitajiet sportivi meta tikkonsidra ir-relazzjonijiet tiegħek mal-persuni tat-tim tiegħek u dawk ta' kontrik.

1. Kwantita'

- a. Fil-ħajja edukattiva u personali tiegħek, kemm tista' tghid li kellek esperjenzi tal-Edukazzjoni bbażata fuq il-Valuri?
 - i. Frekwenti hafna, Frekwenti, Xi kultant, Rari, Qatt, Ma Nafx
- b. Jekk għaddejt minn esperjenzi tal-Edukazzjoni bbażata fuq it-tagħlim, fejn seħħu dawn l-esperjenzi? (Jekk jgħoġġbok iċċekkja dawk kollha li japplikaw)
 - i. Id-dar, L-iskola, F'attivitajiet ekstrakurrikulari (gruppi taz-zagħzagħ, gruppi sportivi, gruppi reliġjużi, eċċ.)
- c. Jekk għaddejt minn esperjenzi ta' Edukazzjoni Bbażata fuq il-Valuri ġewwa l-iskola, f'liema livell seħħu dawn l-esperjenzi? (Jekk jgħoġġbok iċċekkja dawk kollha li japplikaw)
 - i. Primarja, Sekondarja, Post-Sekondarja, Terzjarja
- d. Jekk għaddejt minn esperjenzi ta' Edukazzjoni Bbażata fuq il-Valuri ġewwa l-iskola, dan kien il-qofol tal-curriculum jew kien attivita' apparti li setgħu jagħzlu l-istudenti?
 - i. Parti mill-curriculum, Attivita' apparti

2. Kwalita'

- a. Kemm kienu pozittivi jew negattivi l-esperjenzi tal-Edukazzjoni Bbażata fuq il-Valuri?
 - i. Pożittiv Hafna, Pożittiv, Kemmxejn Pożittiv, Newtrali, Kemmxejn negattiv, Negattiv, Negattiv Hafna, Ma nafx, M'għandix esperjenzi ta' Edukazzjoni Bbażata fuq il-Valuri
- b. Kemm kienu ta' siwi l-esperjenzi tal-Edukazzjoni Bbażata fuq il-Valuri fil-ħajja personali u soċjali tiegħek?
 - i. Ta' siwi hafna, Ta' siwi, Kemmxejn ta'siwi, Newtrali, Kemmxejn bla siwi, Bla siwi, Bla siwi ta xejn, Ma nafx

3. Kontenut

- a. Iddiskutejtu xi kunċenti minn dawn li ġejjin fl-esperjenza tal-VBE **ġewwa l-iskola**? (Jekk jgħoġġbok iċċekkja dawk kollha li japplikaw)
 - i. Valuri personali, Għarfien tiegħek innifsek, Drittijiet tal-Bniedem, Tolleranza, Diskriminazzjoni, Razziżmu, Empatija, Kompassjoni (ħniena), Komunita', Kultura, Paċi, Sens ta' ġustizzja, Ġustizzja, Rispett, Interess fl-oħrajn, Dinjita', Faqar, Ġuħ, Ġeneru
- b. Iddiskutejtu xi kunċetti minn dawn li ġejjin fl-esperjenza tal-VBE **barra mill-iskola**? (Jekk jgħoġġbok iċċekkja dawk kollha li japplikaw)
 - i. Valuri Personali, Għarfien tiegħek innifsek, Drittijiet tal-Bniedem, Tolleranza, Diskriminazzjoni, Razziżmu, Empatija, Kompassjoni, Komunita', Kultura, Paċi,

Sens ta' ġustizzja, Ġustizzja, Rispett, Interess fl-oħrajn, Dinjita', Faqar, Ġuħ, Ġeneru

- c. Liema minn dawn il-ħiliet thoss li akkwistajt mill-esperjenzi tal-VBE **ġewwa l-iskola?** (Jekk jgħoġġbok iċċekja dawk kollha li japplikaw)
 - i. Ħsieb kritiku, Soluzzjoni għall-Problemi, Awtorizzazzjoni Personali, Responsabbiltà Personali, Tisħiħ ta' relazzjonijiet, Xogħol bħala tim
- d. Liema minn dawn il-ħiliet thoss li akkwistajt mill-esperjenzi tal-VBE **barra mill-iskola?** (Jekk jgħoġġbok iċċekja dawk kollha li japplikaw)
 - i. Ħsieb kritiku, Soluzzjoni għall-problemi, Awtorizzazzjoni Personali, Responsabbiltà Personali, Tisħiħ ta' relazzjonijiet, Xogħol bħala tim
- e. Kemm tipparteċipa f'opportunitajiet volontarji fil-komunità tiegħek?
 - i. Qatt, Darba jew darbtejn, 1-5 darbiet fis-sena, 6-12 –il darba fis-sena, Darba f' xahar, Iktar minn darba f'sena, Kull ġimgħa...DK

It-3 parti : Atitudnijiet

F' dan l-aħħar perjodu ta' għaxar snin, Malta rat żieda kbira fin-numru t'imigranti mill-Afrika.

- 1. Kuntatt (għall-kuntest)
 - a. Kemm tinteratta ma' imigranti Afrikani? (Dan jinkludi kemm interazzjoni b' mod verbali u anke b' mod non-verbali)
 - i. Bosta drabi, Spiss, Xi drabi, Rari, Qatt, Ma nafx
 - b. Kif tagħmel stima tal-interazzjonijiet tiegħek ma' imigranti Afrikani?
 - i. Pożittiv Ħafna, Pożittiv, Kemmxejn Pożittiv, Newtrali, Kemmxejn Negattiv, Negattiv, Negattiv Ħafna, Ma nafx
- 2. Ekonomija
 - a. L-imigranti Afrikani għandhom effett pożittiv jew negattiv fuq l-ekonomija Maltija?
 - i. Pożittiv Ħafna, Pożittiv, Kemmxejn Pożittiv, Ma jaffettwawx, Kemmxejn negattiv, Negattiv, Negattiv Ħafna, Ma nafx
- 3. Kultura
 - a. L-imigranti Afrikani għandhom effett pożittiv jew negattiv fuq il-ħajja kulturali Maltija?
 - i. Pożittiv Ħafna, Pożittiv, Kemmxejn pożittiv, Ma jaffettwawx, Kemmxejn negattiv, Negattiv, Negattiv Ħafna, Ma nafx
 - b. Kemm hu tajjeb jew ħazin għal Malta li tkun magħmula b'nies ta' razzez, reliġjonijiet u kulturi differenti?
 - i. Tajjeb ħafna, Tajjeb, Kemmxejn tajjeb, Newtrali, Kemmxejn ħazin, Ħazin, Ħazin ħafna, Ma nafx
- 4. Post ta' Għajxien
 - a. L-imigranti Maltin jagħmlu lil Malta post aħjar jew aghar biex tgħix fih?
 - i. Ħafna aħjar, Aħjar, Kemmxejn aħjar, Ma jaffettwawx, Kemmxejn aghar, Aghar, Ħafna aghar, Ma nafx

- b. Il-preżenza tal-imigranti Afrikani kif taffettwa r-rata tal-kriminalita' ġewwa Malta?
 - i. Żieda qawwija, Żieda, Kemmxejn żieda, Bla effett...DK

Ir-4 parti : Evalwazzjoni

- 1. X'tip ta' impatt taħseb li kellha l-esperjenza fl-attivitajiet tal-Edukazzjoni bbażata fuq il-Valuri fuq l-atitudni lejn l-imigranti Afrikani?
 - a. (Sezzjoni vojta)

Jekk jgħogġbok agħfas 'Submit' hawn taht biex tispiċċa.

References

- “80% of Maltese households have internet access, 73% of adults use internet.” (2015). *The Independent*. Available at <<http://www.independent.com.mt/articles/2015-03-03/local-news/80-of-Maltese-households-have-internet-access-73-of-adults-use-internet-6736131526>>
- Allen, R. (1975). *But the Earth Abideth Forever: Values in Environmental Education*. In Meyer, J, Burnham, B and Cholvat, J (Eds). *Values Education: Theory/Practice/ Problems/Prospects*. Wilfrid Laurier University Press, Ontario.
- Allport, G. W. (1935). *Attitudes*. In *A Handbook of Social Psychology* (pp.798-844). Worcester, MA: Clark University Press.
- Apostle, R. A., Glock, C. Y., Piazza, T. & Suelzle, M. (1983). *The Anatomy of Social Attitudes*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- “Are asylum seekers illegal immigrants?” (2013). *The Independent*. Available at <<http://www.independent.com.mt/articles/2013-07-14/news/are-asylum-seekers-illegal-immigrants-2068054033/>>:
- Article 26. Preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr>
- Arweck, E., & Nesbitt, E. (2004). Values Education: The Development and Classroom Use of an Educational Programme. *British Educational Research Journal*, 30(2), 245-261
- Abowd, J. M. & Freeman, R. B., eds. (1991). *Immigration, Trade, and the Labor Market*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Baum, M. A. (2011). Red State, Blue State, Flu State: Media Self-Selection and Partisan Gaps in Swine Flu Vaccinations. *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 36(6), pp 1021-1059.
- Beck, C. (1971). Moral Education in the Schools: Some Practical Suggestions. *Profiles in Practical Education*. Toronto, Canada: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
- Becker, B. W., & Connor, P. E. (1983). A Course on Human Values for the Management Curriculum. *Journal of Management Education*, 8(1), 10–16.

- Bem, D. J. (1972). *Self-Perception Theory*. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*. New York: Academic Press, Vol. 6 (pp. 1-62)
- Berger, S. M., & Lambert, W. W. (1968). *Stimulus-Response Theory in Contemporary Social Psychology*. In G. Lindzey & E. Aronson (Eds.) *The Handbook of Social Psychology* (2nd ed., pp. 81-178). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Bernard, M. M., Maio, G. R., & Olson, J. M. (2003). The Vulnerability of Values to Attack: Inoculation of Values and Value-Relevant Attitudes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 29(1), 63-75.
- Best, S. J., & Krueger, B. S. (2008). *Internet Survey Design*. In Fielding, N., Lee, R. M., & Blank, G. (Eds.) *The SAGE Handbook of Online Research Methods* (pp. 217-236). London: Sage Publications.
- Bianchi, M., Pinotti, P. and Buonanno, P. (2008), "Immigration and crime: an empirical analysis", Economic working paper 698, *Economic Research Department Bank of Italy*.
- Biddix, J. P. (2009). Instrument, Validity, Reliability. *Research Rundowns*. Available at <<https://researchrundowns.wordpress.com/quantitative-methods/instrument-validity-reliability/>>
- Bivariate Pearson Correlation. (2015). *George Mason University*. Available at <<http://dataservices.gmu.edu/files/Correlations.pdf>>
- Bordens, K. S., & Horowitz, I. A. (2002). *Social Psychology* (2nd Ed). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Bornstein, R. (2004). *Face Validity*. In Lewis-Beck, M. S., Bryman, A., & Liao, T. F. (Eds.), *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods*. (pp. 368-369). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc
- Brady, L. (2008). Strategies in Values Education: Horse or Cart?. *Australian Journal of Teacher Education*, 33(5), 81-89.
- Brenner, J. & Fertig, M. (2006). Identifying the Determinants of Attitudes towards Immigrants: A Structural Cross-Country Analysis. *Institute for the Study of Labor*. Available at <<http://ssrn.com/abstract=933036>>
- Brighouse, H. (2006). *On Education*. London and New York: Routledge
- Calleja, S, & Lutterbeck, D. (2008). Managing the Challenges of Irregular Immigration in Malta. *Malta: The Today Public Policy Institute*.

- Cam, P. (2014). Philosophy for Children, Values Education and the Inquiring Society. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 46(11), 1203-1211: 1208
- Card, D., Dustmann, C., & Preston, I. (2005). Understanding Attitudes to Immigration: The migration and minority module of the first European Social Survey. *Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration*.
- Cassar, C. M. (2013). Researching Migration and Asylum in Malta: A Guide. *The People for Change Foundation*. Available at <http://www.pfcmalta.org/uploads/1/2/1/7/12174934/researching_migration_and_asylum_in_malta_-_a_guide.pdf>
- Constant, A. F., Kahanec, M. & Zimmermann, K. F. (2008). Attitudes towards Immigrants, Other Integration Barriers, and their Veracity. *Institute for the Study of Labor*. Available at <<http://ftp.iza.org/dp3650.pdf>>
- Cooke, P. (2014). "Detention policy fuels negative perceptions." *Times of Malta*. Available at <<http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20140304/local/-Detention-policy-fuels-negative-perceptions-.509132>>
- Coyne, K., & Coyne, R. (2001). Dispelling the Myths of Character Education. *Principal Leadership*, 2(3), 58–61.
- Cremin, P. (1993). *Promoting Education for Peace*. In Cremin, P. Ed. *Education for Peace* (pp.1-13). Limerick: Education Studies Association of Ireland
- Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research Design*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publishers.
- Crime Statistics. (2014). *Eurostat*. Available at <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Crime_statistics>
- Damon, W. (2002). *Bringing in a New Era in Character Education*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press.
- DataStar. (2008). *What Every Researcher Should Know about Statistical Significance*. Available at <<http://www.surveystar.com/startips/oct2008.pdf>>
- Davidov, E., et. al.(2014). Individual Values, Cultural Embeddedness, and Anti-Immigration Sentiments: Explaining Differences in the Effect of Values on Attitudes Toward Immigration Across Europe. *Kölner Zeitschrift Für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, 66(1), 263-285: 267
- Day, C. L. (1990). Ethnocentrism, Economic Competition, and Attitudes toward US Immigration Policy. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL, April 5-7.

- De Phillips, M. (2009). Media impact on natives' attitudes towards immigration. *Università Commerciale Luigi Bocconi*. Available at <<http://www.stranieriinitalia.it/briguglio/immigrazione-e-asilo/2010/marzo/tesi-marta-de-philippis.pdf>>
- Debattista, M. (2014). "Illegal Immigration in Malta." *Living in Malta*. Available at <<http://livinginmalta.com/news/illegal-immigration-malta>>
- Debattista, M. (2014), Many Maltese can't live without internet, surveys confirm. *Times of Malta*. Available at <<http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20140119/business-news/Many-Maltese-can-t-live-without-internet-surveys-confirm.503214>>
- Debono, J. (2015). Perceptions about Third Country Nationals and Immigration in Malta. MediaToday Co. Ltd
- Demidova, O., & Paas, T. (2013). A Comparative Analysis of People's Attitudes Towards Immigrants in Estonia and Russia. *SEARCH European Commission*.
- Dereli-Iman, E. (2014). The Effect of the Values Education Programme on 5.5-6 Year Old Children's Social Development: Social Skills, Psycho-Social Development and Social Problem Solving Skills. *Educational Sciences: Theory & Practice*, 14(1), 262-268.
- Deutsch, M. (2006). *Justice and Conflict*. In M. Deutsch, P. T. Coleman, & E. C. Marcus (Eds.), *The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and practice* (2nd ed., pp. 43-68). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Dewey, J. (1916). *Democracy and Education*. New York: Free Press.
- Diacono, T. (2014). "Crowds of Maltese people march through Valletta to protest against the threat of illegal immigration." *Malta Today*. Available at <http://www.maltatoday.com.mt/news/national/44303/crowds_gather_to_protest_against_illegal_immigration#.VeaqxfmqrWm>
- Dommeyer, C.J., Baum, P., and Hanna, R.W. (2002). College Students' Attitudes toward Methods of Collecting Teaching Evaluation: In-Class Versus Online. *Journal of Education for Business* 78(2): 11-15.
- Durick, H. E. (2011). African Irregular Migrants in Malta: Exploring Perceptions and Renegotiating the Socio-Cultural Siege of Malta. *OMERTAA Journal of Applied Anthropology*. 483-498. Available at <<http://www.omertaa.org/archive/omertaa0058.pdf>>
- Durkheim, É. (1997). *Suicide: A Study in Sociology*. Ed. George Simpson. New York: Free Press.

- ECRI Report on Malta. (2013). *European Commission against Racism and Intolerance*. Available at < <https://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/ecri/Country-by-country/Malta/MLT-CbC-IV-2013-037-ENG.pdf>>
- Eriksen, M. (2009). Authentic Leadership: Practical Reflexivity, Self-Awareness, and Self-Authorship. *Journal of Management Education*, 33(6), 747–771.
- Espenshade, T. J., & Calhoun, C. A. (1993). An Analysis of Public Opinion toward Undocumented Immigration. *Population Research and Policy Review*, 12(3), 189-224.
- Etherington, M. (2013). Values Education: Why the Teaching of Values in Schools is Necessary, But Not Sufficient. *Journal of Research on Christian Education*, 22(2), 189-210.
- Fazio, R. H. (1989). *On the Power and Functionality of Attitudes: The Role of Attitude Accessibility*. In Pratkanis, A. R., Breckler, S. J., & Greenwald, A. R. (Eds.) *Attitude Structure and Function* (pp. 153-179).
- Feather, N. T. (1991). Human Values, Global Self-Esteem, and Belief in a Just World. *Journal of Personality*, 59(1), 83-107.
- Feather, N. T. (1995). Values, Valences, and Choice: The Influences of Values on the Perceived Attractiveness and Choice of Alternatives. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 68(6), 1135-1151
- Feshbach, N. D., & Feshbach, S. (2009). *Empathy and Education*. In J. Decety, & W. Ickes (Eds.), *The Social Neuroscience of Empathy* (pp. 85-98). Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Field, A. P. (2005). *Discovering Statistics Using SPSS* (2nd Ed.). London: Sage.
- Fishbein, M., & Ajzen, I. (1975). *Belief, Attitude, Intention, and Behavior: An Introduction to Theory and Research*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Fiske, S. T. (2010). *Social Beings: Core Motives in Social Psychology* (2nd Ed.). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley
- Freeman, C. (2013). "EU immigration: 'Malta is the smallest state, and we are carrying a burden that is much bigger than any other country'." *The Telegraph*. Available at <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/malta/10192458/EU-immigration-Malta-is-the-smallest-state-and-we-are-carrying-a-burden-that-is-much-bigger-than-any-other-country.html>>
- Grundstein-Amado, R. (1995). Values Education: A New Direction for Medical Education. *Journal of Medical Ethics*, 21, 174–178.
- Hainmueller, J., and Hiscox, M.J. (2007). Educated Preferences: Explaining attitudes toward Immigration in Europe. *International Organization* 61(2), pp. 399-442.

- Halstead, J. M., & Taylor, M. J. (2000). Learning and Teaching about Values: A Review of Recent Research. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 30(2), 169–202.
- Haydon, G. (2006). *Values in Education*. London: Continuum.
- Henry, P. J. (2010). Modern Racism. In Levine, J. & Hogg, M. (Eds) *The Encyclopedia of Group Processes and Intergroup Relations* (pp. 575-577). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Henry, P. J., & Sears, D. O. (2002). The Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale. *Political Psychology*, 23(2), 253-283.
- Himmelfarb, S. and Eagly, A. (1974). *Readings in Attitude Change*. New York: John Wiley.
- Hogg, M. A., & Cooper, J. M. (Eds.). (2007). *The Sage Handbook of Social Psychology (concise student Ed.)*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- Hogg, M., & Vaughan, G. (2013). *Social Psychology*: UEL. Pearson Higher Ed.
- Howard, R. W., Berkowitz, M. W., & Schaeffer, E. F. (2004). Politics of Character Education. *Educational Policy*, 18(1), 188–215.
- Inglehart, R. (1997). *Modernization and Postmodernization*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Insko, C. A. (1965). Verbal Reinforcement of Attitude. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 2(4), 621-623
- “Irregular use of ‘illegal immigrant’ is back.” (2013). *The Independent*. Available at <<http://www.independent.com.mt/articles/2013-07-14/news/irregular-use-of-illegal-immigrant-is-back-2068054032/>>
- Iyengar, S. et al (2013). Do Attitudes About Immigration Predict Willingness to Admit Individual Immigrants? A Cross-National Test of the Person-Positivity Bias. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 77(3), pp. 641–665.
- Jackman, M. R. & Muha, M. J. (1984). Education and Intergroup Attitudes: Moral Enlightenment, Superficial Democratic Commitment, or Ideological Refinement? *American Sociological Review* 49: 751-769.
- Jeannet, A. M. & Blinder, S. (2014). Numbers and Waves: The Effects of Media Portrayals of Immigrants on Public Opinion in Britain. Oxford Martin School, *University of Oxford*. Available at <<http://www.oxfordmartin.ox.ac.uk/opinion/view/258>>

- Jones, T. M. (2009). Framing the Framework: Discourse in Australia's National Values Education Policy. *Educational Research for Policy & Practice*, 8, 35–57.
- Katz, D. (1960). The Functional Approach to the Study of Attitudes. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 24(2), 163-204.
- Kirschenbaum, H. (1976). Clarifying Values Clarification: Some Theoretical Issues and a Review of Research. *Group & Organization Studies*, 1(1), 99–116.
- Cluckhohn, C. (1951). *Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action: An Exploration in Definition and Classification*. In T. Parsons & E. Shils (Eds.), *Toward a General Theory of Action* (pp.388-433). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Kohlberg, L., & Higgins, A. (1987). *School Democracy and Social Interaction*. In W. M. Kurtines & J. L. Gewirtz (Eds.), *Moral Development Through Social Interaction* (pp. 102–128). New York, NY: Wiley.
- Kok, L. (2006). The Dublin II Regulation. A UNHCR Discussion Paper. *UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)*. Available at <<http://www.refworld.org/docid/4445fe344.html>>
- Komalasari, K., Saripudin, D. & Masyitoh, I. S. (2014). Living Values Education Model in Learning and Extracurricular Activities to Construct the Students' Character. *Journal of Education and Practice* 5(7), 166-174.
- Kristiansen, C. M., Matheson, K. (1990). Value Conflict, Value Justification, and Attitudes towards Nuclear Weapons. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 130(5), 665-675.
- Laczko, F. (2015). How the World Views Migration: IOM - Gallup World Poll. *International Organization for Migration*.
- Leech, N., Barrett, K. C., & Morgan, G. A. (2011). *IBM SPSS for Intermediate Statistics: Use and Interpretation, 4th Edition*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Lickona, T. (1996). Eleven Principles of Effective Character Education. *Journal of Moral Education* 25(1), 93–100.
- Lippmann, W. (1922). *Public Opinion*. New York: Macmillan
- Maio, G. R., & Olson, J. M. (1995). Relations between Values, Attitudes, and Behavioral Intentions: The Moderating Role of Attitude Function. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 31(3), 266-285.
- "Malta Crime Stats." (2015). *NationMaster*. Available at <<http://www.nationmaster.com/country-info/profiles/Malta/Crime>>

- "Malta Unemployment Rate." (2015). *Trading Economics*. Available at <<http://www.tradingeconomics.com/malta/unemployment-rate>>
- McGuire, W. J. (1989). *The Structure of Individual Attitudes and Attitude Systems*. In A. R. Pratkanis, S. J. Breckler, & A. G. Greenwald (Eds), *Attitude Structure and Function* (pp. 37-69). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Micallef, M. (2015). We are Part of the Economy but not of Society. *Migrant Report*.
- Migrant Policy Group. (2014). Integration policies: Who benefits? The development and use of indicators in integration debates. *Migrant Integration Policy Index*. Available at <<http://www.mipex.eu/malta>>
- Moore, S. (1986). Social scientists' views on immigrants and US immigration policy: A postscript, pp. 213-217 in: R. J. Simon (ed.), *Immigration and American public policy, The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 487. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Morris, M. D. (1985). *Immigration: The beleaguered bureaucracy*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- Moscardo, G., & Murphy, L. (2011). Towards Values Education in Tourism: The Challenge of Measuring the Values. *Journal of Teaching in Travel and Tourism*, 11, 76-93.
- Multiple Regression Analysis using SPSS Statistics. (2013). *Laerd Statistics*. Available at <<https://statistics.laerd.com/spss-tutorials/multiple-regression-using-spss-statistics.php>>
- Murry, M. (2007). *Informally published manuscript*. IL: Department of Psychology, University of Illinois. Retrieved from http://moodle.unitec.ac.nz/file.php/950/Day_9_childhood/MoralDevelopmentandMoralEducation.pdf
- National Statistics Office, Malta. (2015). *Demographic Review: 2005-2012*. Available at <https://nso.gov.mt/en/publicatons/Publications_by_Unit/Documents/C3_Population_and_Tourism_Statistics/Demographic_Review_2005_2012.pdf>
- Nazareth, P. & Waples, M. E. (1980). *To Live or Not to Live with Values*. All India Association of Catholic Schools, Delhi.
- Nitkellmu? Refugee Integration Perspectives in Malta. (2013). *Aditus & UNHCR*.
- Nord, W. A. (2010). *Does God make a difference? Taking Religion Seriously in our Schools and Universities*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press
- Olsen, R. (2008). Self-Selection Bias. In Lavrakas, P. J. (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Survey Research Methods*. (pp. 809-811). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc

- Olson, J. & Zanna, M. (1993). Attitudes and Attitude Change. *Annual Review of Psychology* 44, 117-154.
- O'Reilly, D (1991). *An Initiative to Bring Values Back to the Class*. Philadelphia Inquirer, November 17.
- Ostrom, T.M., & Brock, T.C. (1969). Cognitive Bonding to Central Values and Resistance to a Communication Advocating Change in Policy Orientation. *Journal of Experimental Research in Personality*, 4, 42-50.
- Paas, T., & Halapuu, V. (2012). Attitudes towards Immigrants and the Integration of Ethnically Diverse Societies. *Eastern Journal of European Studies*, 3(2), 161-176.
- Phillips, J. M. & Gully, S. M. (2014). *Organizational Behavior: Tools for Success*. Mason, OH: South-Western Cengage Learning.
- Pratkanis, A. R., & Greenwald, A. G. (1989). A Sociocognitive Model of Attitude Structure and Function. In *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* Vol 22 (pp. 245-285).
- Quinn, D. (2002). *Improving Online Response Rates*, available at <<http://www.unisanet.unisa.edu.au/sei/website/Online-respnrates.asp>>
- Recommendation of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 December 2006 on Key Competences for Lifelong Learning. (2006). Accessible at: <<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex:32006H0962>>.
- Report Racism Malta. (2014). *People for a Change*. Available at <<http://www.pfcmalta.org/report-racism-malta.html>>
- Robb, B. (1998). What is Values Education-and So What. *The Journal of Values Education*, 1, 1-11: 4
- Rokeach, M. (1973). *The Nature of Human Values*. New York: Free Press.
- Rudestam, K. E., & Newton, R. R. (2007). *Surviving Your Dissertation: A Comprehensive Guide to Content and Process*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Russell, B. (1926/1973). *The Aims of Education*. In his *On Education: Especially in Early Childhood*, 28-46. London: Unwin Books.
- Sacco, J. (2010). Not in My Country. *The Guardian*.
- Sagkal, A. S., Turnuklu, A., & Totan, T. (2012). Empathy for Interpersonal Peace: Effects of Peace Education on Empathy Skills. *Educational Sciences: Theory and Practice*, 12(2), 1454-1460.

- Saldana, J. (2013). Power and Conformity in Today's Schools. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 3(1), pp. 228-232.
- Schultz, P. W., & Zelezny, L. (1999). Values as Predictors of Environmental Attitudes. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 19, 255-265
- Schwartz, S. H. (2006). Basic human values: Theory, measurement, and applications. *Revue française de sociologie*, 47.4: 249-288.
- Schwartz, S. H. (2012). An Overview of the Schwartz Theory of Basic Values. Online Readings in *Psychology and Culture*, 2(1).
- Scicluna, M. (2014). Ugly Face of Racism. *Times of Malta*.
- Shores, J. W. (2008). *Christian Theatre as Entertainment-Education: Belief System Theory and the Impact of Live Performance* (Doctoral Dissertation). Regent University, Virginia. Available at <<http://search.proquest.com/docview/304819803>>
- Simon, R. J. (1987). Immigration and American Attitudes. *Public Opinion* 10: 47-50.
- Smith, M. B. (1969). *Personal Values in the Study of Lives*; In M. Brewster Smith, *Social Psychology and Human Values: Selected Essays*. Transaction Publishers, 1969.
- Smith, M. B., Bruner, J. S., & White, R. W. (1956). *Opinions and Personality*. New York: John Wiley
- Social Networking Fact Sheet. (2014). *PEW Research Center*. Available at <<http://www.pewinternet.org/fact-sheets/social-networking-fact-sheet/>>
- Spiteri, D. (2013). Can My Perceptions of the 'Other' Change? Challenging Prejudices against Migrants Amongst Adolescent Boys in a School for Low Achievers in Malta. *Research in Education*, 89(1), 41-60.
- Storbeck, J., & Clore, G. L. (2007). On the Interdependence of Cognition and Emotion. *Cognition & Emotion*, 21(6), 1212-1237.
- Sullivan, J. L., Piereson, J. & Marcus, G. E. (1982). *Political Tolerance and American Democracy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- SurveyMonkey. (2015). *Sample Size Calculator*. Available at <<https://www.surveymonkey.com/mp/sample-size-calculator/>>
- Sutrop, M. (2015). Can Values be Taught? The Myth of Value-Free Education. *Trames Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences*, 19(2): 189-202.

- Tarrance and Associates (1989). *Research report: California immigration survey*, April 1989. Houston, TX.
- Taylor, M. J. (1996). *Voicing their Values: Pupils' Moral and Cultural Experience*. In Halstead, J. M., & Taylor, M. J. (Eds) *Values in Education and Education in Values* pp 121-142. Bristol, PA: Falmer Press, Taylor & Francis.
- Toomey, R., & Lovat, T. (2009). Values Education, Quality Teaching, and Service Learning: The Harmony of a New Pedagogy. *Beliefs and Values* 1(2), 220-229.
- Trissler, T. (2000). Should Values be Taught in Public Schools? *Practical Ethics*. Available at <<http://www.newfoundations.com/PracEthics/Trissler.html>>
- Tuck-Primdahl, M. J. (2014). Migration and Remittances. *The World Bank*. Available at <<http://go.worldbank.org/1KDROZLEX0>>
- UNHCR. (2014). *#knowthefacts: A toolkit on asylum and migration for Maltese MEP candidates*.
- University students believe racism exists in Malta. (2014). *Times of Malta*. Available at <<http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20140321/local/university-students-believe-racism-exists-in-malta.511579>>
- Verplanken, B., & Holland, R. W. (2002). Motivated Decision Making: Effects of Activation and Self-Centrality of Values on Choices and Behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82(3), 434-447.
- Vogt, W. P. (2005). Acquiescent Response Style. In *Dictionary of Statistics & Methodology*. (3rd ed., pp. 4-5). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Vogt, W. P. (2005). Convenience Sample. In *Dictionary of Statistics & Methodology*. (3rd ed., pp. 63-64). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Weber, M. (1958). *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York: Scribner.
- Wilcox, R. R. (2001). *Fundamentals of Modern Statistical Methods: Substantially Improving Power and Accuracy*. New York, NY: Springer-Verlag, Inc.
- Youth in Europe: A Statistical Portrait. (2009). Rep. Eurostat European Commission.

Biography

Lauren Corboy received her GED from the state of Texas in 2007. She received her Bachelor of Arts from Pacific Lutheran University in 2014. She received her Master of Science from George Mason University and her Master of Arts from the University of Malta in 2015.